SPECIAL EDITION

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

WEEKLY NEWS SERVICE

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SPECIAL EDITION

WHOLE NO. 1076. WILLIAM GREEN, President WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1931 FRANK MORRISON, Secretary VOL. 21, NO. 37.

Epochal Program for Advancement of Workers Proclaimed

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE IS DEMANDED

American Federation of Labor Offers Plan to Heal Industry and Challenges Capital for Better

The annual convention of the American Federation of Labor is Organized Labor's Parliament.

It speaks with authority. No other body, no official, has the power to repeal its declarations or nullify its action. It is Labor's Parliament and Supreme Court combined in one body.

The 1931 convention was confronted with the stupendous problem, relatively recent in the United States, of millions of ablebodied adults deprived of the right to earn a living, millions more working part time, a menacing situation created by wage cuts both actual and predicted, the continuance of labor injunctions throttling Labor's legitimate organized activities, and many other important matters.

The convention's actions were positive on the questions before it.

It demanded that the right to work be secured for every citizen and made inalienable.

It declared its opposition to unemployment insurance.

It adopted an emergency unemployment program which would very quickly relieve the present unemployment crisis if those who own and manage industry had the industrial statesmanship to apply it.

It declared for a progressively shorter workday as the major remedy for unemployment caused by the wholesale introduction of labor-displacing machinery.

It insisted that wage rates should be maintained.

It promulgated a comprehensive and practical long-range policy for national economic planning to prevent unemployment in the future.

It endorsed an anti-injunction bill which it is believed will strike from the hands of Labor the manacles riveted there by the tyranny of labor-injunction judges.

It approved a model old age security measure which when enacted will provide a comfortable living for dependent people over sixty.

It instituted a campaign to protect the child workers of the nation by the prompt ratification of the child labor amendment to the Federal Constitution.

The convention also set out Organized Labor's program and policy on many other matters of great interest to the workers.

The action of the convention on a large number of subjects, based on the official proceedings, is recorded in this issue of the American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service.

In many instances the report of the Executive Council of the Federation throws considerable light on the official acts of the convention. Wherever possible, summaries or excerpts from the Council's report are included in the account of the convention proceedings.

SALES TAX FAVORS RICH AND VICTIMIZES THE POOR

The sales tax was opposed by the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor "as an attempt to place an additional tax, in a particularly aggravating way, upon those least able to bear it."

The iniquity of this attempt to relieve the rich from taxation and saddle it on the poor was brought to the attention of the convention by the Executive Council of the Federation.

"Although defeated year after year in every attempt to saddle the 'nuisance' under the name of 'sales tax' upon the people," the Council said, "another campaign has been launched to bring about that legislation in the next Congress.

"High public officials also have advanced the idea that the best way in which income taxes could be increased would be by decreasing the exemption of married men to $2,000 and single men to $1,000.

"The objective of those who pay high taxes is to relieve the well-to-do from taxation and place the burden upon those least able to bear it. The argument used in advocating the sales tax has been: If you tax the people so they do not know it they cannot object; but if they know they are paying a tax they will object.

"We pay an indirect tax on every purchase we make. In 1927 only 2.2 per cent of our then 114,000,000 population paid income taxes and three-tenths of 1 per cent paid 95.5 per cent of the total income tax. For 1930, 2 per cent of the population paid all the income taxes. These are Treasury figures.

"The only persons to be benefited by the consumption tax are the 2 per cent of the population who pay an income tax. On the other hand, the burden of taxation would fall upon the 98 per cent who do not pay an income tax. Besides they now pay an indirect tax on everything they buy. The 'sales tax' will increase that tax load."

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR



Top row, reading from left to right—First Vice President Frank Duffy, Secretary Frank Morrison, President William Green, Treasurer Martin F. Ryan, Second Vice President Thomas A. Rickert.

Bottom row, reading from left to right—Third Vice President Matthew Woll, Fourth Vice President James Wilson, Fifth Vice President John Coefield, Sixth Vice President Arthur O. Wharton, Seventh Vice President Joseph N. Weber, Eighth Vice President G. M. Bugniazet.

Fifty-First Annual Convention Of American Federation of Labor

Canadian Government and Trade Union Officials Give Addresses of Welcome—Green Opens Convention with Keynote Speech

The fifty-first annual convention of the American Federation of Labor was held in Vancouver, British Columbia, October 5 to 15, 1931.

The convention met in the Ballroom of the Vancouver Hotel.

Prior to the opening of the convention an orchestra composed of members of Musicians' Local Union, No. 145, American Federation of Musicians Union, gave a concert, closing with the national anthems of the United States and Canada after the officers and speakers were seated on the platform.

The convention was called to order by Percy R. Bengough, chairman of the Reception and Entertainment Committee of the Vancouver, New Westminster and District Trades and Labor Council, and vice president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Bishop Sovereign Offers Invocation

The invocation was offered by the Rev. Canon A. H. Sovereign, Bishop-Elect of Yukon. Bishop Sovereign included in his invocation the following reference to the distressing unemployment conditions which were uppermost in the minds of both delegates and visitors:

Prayer for Unemployed

"Let us pray for the unemployed. Oh, God, remember with pain and pity the thousands of our brothers and sisters throughout the world who seek honest work and seek it in vain. We pray with sorrow and compassion for those who have been blessed with this world's goods and who forget their brothers and sisters in need. To all of the people on this continent do Thou grant wisdom and create a world in which none shall be forced to idle in want and none shall be able to idle in luxury, but a world in which all shall know the health of wholesome work and the sweetness of well-earned rest."

Labor Problems Are International

In greeting the delegates, Chairman Bengough declared that the problems confronting trade unionists in Canada and the United States are the same.

"We are all conversant," he said, "with the fact that across the great ocean are many thousands who are starving and in famine stricken areas. In our country, the same as yours, we have a great deal of suffering in wealth stricken areas. I think the problem we have is a greater one than the problem they have on the other side of the ocean. These questions are questions that will be dealt with at this convention, and the world is waiting, I might say anxiously waiting, for the pronouncement of this convention on the paramount question of unemployment."

Herrett Speaks

Chairman Bengough then introduced Clarence Herrett, vice president of the Vancouver and New Westminster District Trades and Labor Council, who declared that the labor movement of Canada and the province of British Columbia was proud of the fact that it was international and that it was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Vancouver Labor Movement

He said the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council was organized in 1889 and amalgamated with the New Westminster Trades and Labor Council in 1920. The Council, which has a membership of 14,000, owns its own weekly paper, The Labor Statesman, and also owns its own Labor Headquarters.

He stated that during the forty-one years of its existence the Trades and Labor Council had not only contributed their labor, craftsmanship and skill to building up Vancouver but had also taken an interest in public improvements.

British Columbia Social Legislation

"We point with pride," he said, "to social legislation that we now have on the statute books of our Province, such as minimum wage and factory act for women workers, mother's pensions, workmen's compensation act, and old age pensions."

Bennett Greets Delegates

Chairman Bengough next introduced His Worship, Alderman John Bennett, acting mayor of Vancouver, describing him as "a very good friend of the trade union movement."

"As one who has always belonged to the common people," Mr. Bennett said, "it gives me double pleasure to welcome a convention such as this, which has for its aims the amelioration and the improvement of the lot of the common people.

"I hope that the deliberations which your convention is about to consider will be of inestimable benefit to the workers, not only of the country from which you come, but to the workers throughout the civilized world.

Unemployment Distress

"We are met, at the present time, in the shadow of a great crisis. Distress and want and misery are side by side with greater concentration of wealth than has ever before been known in the history of the world. And it is for such a convention as yours, which has assembled this morning, by your endeavors, by your wise counsels to bring forth such sagacity, such welcome advice that will guide your leaders in the great republic from which you come in the deliberations of the coming year.

"I can assure you that in this city today there are no greater well wishers than, the City Council and myself, that your deliberations be crowned with success.

"Your history down through the years has been one of quiet endeavor, one of wise consultation and one that has always been conducted with propriety, and I think I can look forward with confidence to your deliberations at this convention during the coming two weeks."

Mackenzie Addresses Convention

Following Acting Mayor Bennett's address, Chairman Bengough presented Hon. A. W. Mackenzie, Minister of Labor and Mines of British Columbia, representing Prime Minister Tolmie, who was unable to be present. Mr. Mackenzie paid a tribute to the achievements of the American Federation of Labor, stressed the importance of British Columbia labor laws, and referred to the measures for unemployment, relief adopted by the Province.

Birth of American Trade Unionism

"The history of trade unionism on this continent," he said, "may properly be said to have started in 1881, when your great organization was given birth, and through the intervening years, due in no small measure to your efforts, the lot of the working man on this continent has been vastly changed and vastly improved.

"From the seed sown in 1881, this Federation of Labor has grown, rising upon the foundations so securely laid by that great leader, the late Samuel Gompers, and at his passing, carried on so successfully and so energetically by your present President, Mr. William Green.

"Is it any wonder that your organization has been a success when it has

(Continued on Page Two)

YELLOW DOG CONTRACT OUTLAWED IN 5 STATES

The 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor expressed its gratification at the progress made during the past year in the enactment of legislation "declaring the vicious 'yellow dog' contract null and void."

The States of Wisconsin, Arizona, Colorado, Ohio and Oregon have already passed such laws, which in effect, the convention declared, "outlaws the provisions of labor contracts, whether written or oral, expressed or implied, under which workers, as a condition of employment are compelled to surrender their right to organize."

In Indiana the Governor vetoed the "yellow dog" bill, and the Massachusetts legislature declined to enact it on the basis of an advisory opinion by the State Supreme Court which declared it unconstitutional.

"Labor has made great headway toward declaring 'yellow dog' contracts invalid and void," the Executive Council of the Federation said in its report to the convention. "Members of various State legislatures undoubtedly learned of the viciousness of these contracts through a report of the discussions held on the floor of the Senate when Judge John J. Parker's appointment was up for confirmation to be a member of the Supreme Court of the United States.

"After the defeat of Judge Parker in the Senate, pamphlets were prepared and distributed throughout the United States in which the debates were incorporated and information regarding the 'yellow dog' contract given to labor officials in order that they could appear before legislative committees in the interest of this legislation.

"Labor's anti-injunction bill which will be presented to Congress prohibits 'yellow dog' contracts. We believe public sentiment is sufficiently strong against this form of contract to render unsuccessful any attempt to strike such provision from the bill.

"Now that five States have enacted legislation prohibiting these contracts it should be an encouragement to the labor movements of other States to urge the passage of similar measures by their respective legislatures."

The Council recorded the fact that ten of the United States Senators who voted to confirm Judge Parker's appointment will not be members of the Senate which convenes next December. Senators Henry J. Allen of Kansas, Coleman L. Blease of South Carolina, Joseph R. Grundy of Pennsylvania, Roscoe C. McCulloch of Ohio, Joseph E. Ransdell of Louisiana, and Daniel F. Steck of Iowa were defeated on that issue. Senators David Baird, Jr., of New Jersey, Frederick H. Gillett of Massachusetts, Guy D. Goff of West Virginia, and Arthur R. Gould of Maine declined to be candidates for re-election.

PICAYUNE CONGRESSMEN

"Owing to the law for a shorter work day on Saturdays for post office employes," declared the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in its report to the 1931 convention of the Federation, "Congress refused to increase the wages of the post office laborers."

The convention urged the Executive Council to give every possible assistance to the Post Office laborers "in attaining their wage and other objectives that conform to the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor."

Injunctions.—"So far as labor in the United States is concerned there is no liberty here. . . . I am one of the delegates who has a lifetime injunction served upon him. Let labor go out and attempt to defend its rights, and what do you find? You will find that you are immediately served with an injunction by some judge."—Delegate Hoffman, of the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, in a speech before the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Green Puts the Right to Work In the American Bill of Rights

Keynote Speech Apening AFL Convention Presents Labor's Social Justice Program, Demands Jobs for All Jobless, Shorter Hours, Larger Tax on Rich

Editor's Note: In opening the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor at Vancouver, B. C., William Green, president of the Federation, made a keynote speech expressing Labor's discontent with the present economic order and outlining Labor's demand for a more equitable system based on social justice. Preceding President Green's speech, Rev. Canon A. Sovereign, Bishop-Elect of Yukon, gave the invocation, and addresses of welcome were made by Percy Bengough, chairman of the Reception and Entertainment Committee; Clarence Herrett, vice president of the Vancouver and New Westminster District Trades and Labor Council; John Bennett, acting mayor of Vancouver; A. W. Mackenzie, Minister of Labor and Mines of British Columbia, and W. A. Pritchard, reeve of the Municipality of Burnaby. The text of President Green's speech follows:

Chairman Bengough, your Honor, the Mayor of Vancouver, representatives of the Provincial Government and Municipalities, representatives of the organized labor movement of the city and of the province: I express to you all in behalf of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, our deep appreciation for the very cordial welcome you have extended us this morning.

We are looking forward in happy anticipation of a delightful visit with you.

We know we shall go from here, when our labors are ended and our work completed, carrying with us most fond memories of a delightful stay.

And we want you, our fellow workers in the Dominion of Canada, the representatives of all classes of people, to accept our visit here as more than a friendly gesture.

LABOR STANDS FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

We want you to accept and interpret our visit to Canada and to the city of Vancouver as evidence of a sincere desire to promote and strengthen the bonds of friendship which exist between the people of the United States and the Dominion of Canada.

There is only an indistinct, invisible line separating the two nations, and as we travel its course from ocean to ocean we fail to observe a single gun or a single fort.

Every step in this invisible line speaks the language of peace, of good will and of understanding, and I declare here, if I understand the aims and purposes of this great economic movement, the organization of the working people of the two countries, it is to maintain at any cost the friendly relations that have so long been established and that make this line a line of peace, to forever prevent the building of forts or the establishment of guns of warfare, and to neighbors and in perpetually peaceful relationships.

The American labor movement established here upon the American continent is a guaranty of peace, of friendship, of mutual understanding, cooperation and good will, for so long as this movement lives and is permitted to function, the men and women who compose it will see to it that no conflict resulting in the loss of human life shall ever occur between the Dominion of Canada and the United States of America.

MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

We come as men interested in the common economic, social and industrial welfare of the peoples of the two nations. We deal with human values. We are endeavoring to promote those intangible values which make for a better civilization, a better day and a better life.

We seek for a more equitable distribution of the wealth created by human hands, not for the purpose of enriching individuals or groups, but for the purpose of making life more tolerable and happy. This is one of the aims and purposes of our organized labor movement.

I cannot refrain from referring to the fact, upon this solemn occasion, that we are meeting in the midst of a great international emergency.

Distress and suffering prevail throughout the world.

WORLD-WIDE UNEMPLOYMENT

The great Republic of the United States is affected seriously by reason of widespread unemployment.

Our fraternal delegates, sitting on my left, who have made a journey from far across the sea, will tell us when they speak to us of the distressing economic situation which prevails in their home land.

The fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress will supplement what these distinguished speakers have said this morning regarding economic conditions here.

And before us as we deliberate, as we approach our solemn consideration of this great problem, will be the picture of world wide distress affecting the well being and the happiness of hundreds of millions of people.

ABUNDANT FOOD WITH MILLIONS STARVING

Because of this dislocation of our economic structure, because there is suffering in a land where plenty exists in abundance, men and women who are the victims possess inquiring minds.

They are asking questions that are difficult to answer. They are wondering whether the system itself set up by society in every nation has failed.

Surely it is not to the credit of a social order when, on the one hand, we show to the nations of the world how it is possible for two nations to live as find the Creator of the Universe supplying us with food in abundance, and on the other, our millions standing starving and hungry.

We may well ask the question, has capitalism failed?

Surely it is not to its credit when we find a condition such as now exists in our beloved lands.

Shall we live in an age and a time when wealth increases in the hands of a few and men decay?

Shall those human values to which I refer be destroyed?

WAGE REDUCTIONS EMPLOYERS' REMEDY FOR JOBLESS

What about a system that relegates a man in the prime of life to the human scrap heap, that knows no other remedy for economic depression than to

(Continued on Page Two)

LABOR ADOPTS 9-POINT JOBLESS RELIEF PLAN

Its Application Would Meet Crisis of Caring for 7,000,000 Unemployed

The 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted a nine-point emergency unemployment program whose application would meet the crisis of a probable army of 7,000,000 unemployed this Winter.

The program was recommended by the Executive Council of the Federation in its annual report to the convention.

The program follows:

Maintain wages.

Shorten work hours.

Assure employment to minimum work forces.

Each employer to take on additional workers.

Create work through public building.

Strengthen employment agencies.

Keep young persons in school to prevent their taking jobs from older men and women.

Preference for workers with dependents.

Financial relief from public and private funds.

In its report to the convention the Executive Council emphasized the fact that wages constitute the workers' buying power. This buying power, the Council said, "must be maintained so that demand for goods will be kept up and employment may not fall to any lower levels. It is essentially to maintain living standards, for wage levels recover slowly."

Shorten Hours

"Work-hours should be shortened," the Council asserted, "to divide the available work among all workers. We estimate that if unemployment and part time increase as much this Winter as they do in normal years, there will be approximately 36 hours' work a week for all wage earners in the United States. The universal establishment of the five-day week would keep the nation's wage earners at work, making producers and consumers."

Assure Employment

In urging employers to assure employment to minimum work forces from November to April, the Council declares that if all employers would do this "some 20,000,000 wage earners could plan their purchases ahead with confidence for six months." The Council estimates that "the increased spending resulting from employment assurance, if all employers co-operated, would amount to well over one billion dollars. This is enough to make a decided impression on the trend of industrial production."

Take on Additional Workers

On the basis of there being about 3,000,000 employers in the United States, excluding farmers, the Council pointed out that "if all employers were to take on an average of two workers each,

(Continued on Page Six)

ABOLISH CHILD LABOR A. F. OF L. DEMANDS

The prompt ratification of the Child Labor Amendment to the Federal Constitution, the abolition of work permits to children of school age during the unemployment crisis, and more efficient administration of school attendance laws, were stressed as necessary for the protection of children by the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The convention urged that the Executive Council of the Federation review the child welfare laws of the States and combine the best features in a bill for submission to State legislatures.

Ratify Amendment

With regard to the Child Labor Amendment the convention recommended that the initiative in the ratification movement begin with local labor groups in the States. These groups were urged to work in cooperation with national and international unions and the American Federation of Labor and assume largely responsibility for favorable action on the amendment.

The convention recommended that in each State "every candidate for the legislature who will not pledge himself to vote for ratification be opposed."

The subjects of child welfare and the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment were brought to the attention of the convention by the Executive Council in its annual report.

Keep Children in School

"The first step in an emergency program to send children back to school," the report said, "might be an executive order by the permit issuing authority of each State requiring work permits to be returned upon the expiration of the work for which said permits were issued.

"The supplementary step should be a public demand that no more work permits be issued to children of school age during this national emergency.

Work Permits

"Forty-five States require employed children to have certificates certifying to their age compliance with school attendance laws. In most States the age limit for which a certificate is required is 16, a few extend the requirement to 17 and 18 years. In some States even yet, minors of 14 years are permitted to work in factories and other gainful occupations. But these laws are not effective without vigorous, efficient administration.

Improve Minimum Standards

"We urge all State federations of labor to undertake the amendment of

(Continued on Page Six)

The ... of the American Federation of Labor avoids the word "pensions," a term that has caused much opposition to old age pension bills. The A. F. of L. bill proposes old age securities instead

fined to the employes in the office of the board and in the field.

The measure is a model bill to be presented by Organized Labor to the legislatures of the various States.

free press, free assemblage, the right to organize, the right to engage in collective bargaining, and to prevent the equity courts from giving status and legal standing to "yellow dog" contracts.

sign pledging themselves not to join trade unions and declares such contracts to be contrary to the public policy of the United States and not enforceable.

Protects Trade Union Officials

It relieves the officers and members of labor organizations of responsibility for the unlawful acts of individual of-

international unions, State federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions to respond whole-heartedly to every call which may be issued by the Executive Council on this subject.

per week operation of the plant is necessary, which is another reduction in the earnings of the worker. How this affects the purchasing power of the worker can be readily seen.

Labor's Injunction Bill Ends Judge-Made Involuntary Servitude of Workers

VOIDS "YELLOW DOG" PACT, FREES STRIKES

Boycotts by Union and Payment of Benefits Are Legalized by A. F. of L. Measure

The 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor approved an anti-injunction bill which it is believed will definitely end the judicial dictatorship exercised by Federal judges in issuing injunctions in labor disputes prohibiting the workers from organizing in trade unions and from carrying on, without molestation from the courts, the work for which the unions are organized.

Corrects Injunction Abuse

The bill is intended to be a practical and effective medium to correct the abuse of the injunction, which has become notoriously oppressive to Labor. The convention regarded injunction relief legislation as one of the most important parts of its legislative program.

Labor's Bill of Rights

In this proposed legislation, Labor does not ask for a privileged status. Labor undertakes to secure for itself the exercise of the right of free speech, free press, free assemblage, the right to organize, the right to engage in collective bargaining, and to prevent the equity courts from giving status and legal standing to "yellow dog" contracts.

Involuntary Servitude

The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States declares:

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

In most labor injunctions Federal judges set up some form of involuntary servitude for the workers.

Ends Injunction Slavery

The bill endorsed by the convention proposes to end all forms of injunction slavery by writing into the Federal statutes a declaration of public policy which declares that "every human being has under the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States an inalienable right to the disposal of his labor free from interference, restraint or coercion by or in behalf of employers of labor, including the right to associate with other human beings for the protection and advancement of their common interests as workers, and in such association to negotiate through representatives of their own choosing concerning the terms of employment and conditions of labor, and to take concerted action for their own protection in labor disputes." The bill declares that any "undertaking or promise" in conflict with this declaration shall be contrary to the public policy of the United States, and shall not be enforceable or subject to relief from the courts.

"Yellow Dog" Contracts Illegal

The bill then takes up the contracts which employers requi[illegible] workers to sign pledging themselves not to join trade unions and decl[illegible] such contracts to be contrary to the public policy of the United States and not enforceable.

Injunctions Declared Illegal

The bill declares it to be illegal for Federal judges to issue injunctions in labor disputes prohibiting workers individually or collectively from striking or threatening to strike, whether the strikers have a grievance against their own employers or strike sympathetically to bring pressure in favor of some other union engaged in a dispute, and prohibits Federal judges from issuing injunctions barring workers from membership in trade unions.

Legalizes Strike Activities

The bill also declares it to be illegal for Federal judges to issue injunctions in labor disputes prohibiting workers individually or collectively from paying or withholding strike or unemployment benefits, from giving publicity to labor disputes, from aiding by all lawful means any person interested in a labor dispute who is being prosecuted in Federal or State courts, from assembling peaceably to act or organize to act in the interest of a labor dispute, and in general from urging others, without threat, fraud, or violence to do these things.

"Unlawful Conspiracy" Injunctions

The Federation's bill further provides that no Federal court may grant an injunction "on the ground that any persons in a labor dispute are engaged in unlawful conspiracy."

Protects Trade Union Officials

It relieves the officers and members of labor organizations of responsibility for the unlawful acts of individual officers and members or agents, except upon clear proof of actual participation and knowledge.

"Irreparable Damage" Injunctions

According to the Federation's bill, the only circumstances under which a judge could issue an injunction in a labor dispute are the commission of unlawful acts which will continue and cause substantial and irreparable damage to the property of the complainant who has no other remedy but the injunction.

Contempt of Court

In contempt of court proceedings for alleged violation of a labor injunction the Federation bill gives the parties to an industrial dispute the right to demand the withdrawal of a Federal judge if the cause is an attack on his character or conduct, and not made in open court. Upon filing the demand the judge would go no further in the contempt case.

Jury Trials Granted

After a labor injunction is granted, violation of it and charges for contempt of court shall be tried by a jury instead of by the judge, except contempt in the presence of the court or interfering with its operations.

Most Important Labor Measure

"Our immediate and foremost task," the convention declared in its approval of the anti-injunction bill, "is to secure remedial legislation from the coming session of our national Congress. Every effort should and must be directed to that end and all other legislative proposals ought to be subordinated to this great task.

Unions Mobilized

"We earnestly urge all national and international unions, State federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions to respond whole-heartedly to every call which may be issued by the Executive Council on this subject."

Anti-Injunction Bill Approved By A. F. of L. Convention

The anti-injunction bill approved by the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor is entitled "A bill to define and limit the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States, and for other purposes."

The text of the bill follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

That no court of the United States, as herein defined, shall have jurisdiction to issue any restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute, except in strict conformity with the provisions of this act; nor shall any such restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction be issued contrary to the public policy declared in this act.

Sec. 2. In the interpretation of this act and in determining the jurisdiction and authority of the courts of the United States, as such jurisdiction and authority are herein defined and limited, the public policy of the United States is hereby declared as follows:

CONSTITUTION GUARANTEES RIGHTS

Whereas every human being has under the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States an inalienable right to the disposal of his labor free from interference, restraint or coercion by or in behalf of employers of labor, including the right to associate with other human beings for the protection and advancement of their common interests as workers, and in such association to negotiate through representatives of their own choosing concerning the terms of employment and conditions of labor, and to take concerted action for their own protection in labor disputes; and

Whereas, under prevailing economic conditions, developed with the aid of governmental authority for owners of property to organize in the corporate and other forms of ownership association, the unorganized workers are commonly helpless to exercise actual liberty of contract and to protect their freedom of labor, and thereby to obtain acceptable terms of employment and conditions of labor, wherefore it is necessary that they have full freedom of trade union organization association, and the designation of their representatives to negotiate terms of employment and conditions of labor, and that they shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection; therefore, the following definitions of, and limitations upon, the jurisdiction and authority of the courts of the United States are hereby enacted.

"YELLOW DOG" CONTRACTS VOID

Sec. 3. Any undertaking or promise such as is described in this section, or any other undertaking or promise in conflict with the public policy declared in Section 2 of this act, is hereby declared to be contrary to the public policy of the United States, shall not be enforceable and shall not afford any basis for the granting of legal or equitable relief by any court of the United States, includiny specifically the following:

Every undertaking or promise hereafter made, whether written or oral, express or implied, constituting or contained in any contract or agreement of hiring or employment between any individual, firm, company, association, or corporation, and any employee or prospective employee of the same, whereby—

(a) Either party to such contract or agreement undertakes or promises not to join, become, or remain a member of any labor organization or of any organization of employers; or

(b) Either party to such contract or agreement undertakes or promises that he will withdraw from an employment relation in the event that he joins, becomes, or remains a member of any labor organization or of any organization of employers.

COURT JURISDICTION LIMITED

Sec. 4. No court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue any restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction in cases involving or growing out of any labor dispute to prohibit any person or persons from doing, whether singly or in concert, any of the following acts:

(a) Ceasing or refusing to perform any work or to remain in any relation of employment;

(aa) Ceasing, failing or refusing to work upon, handle or use any product or material irrespective of whether such material has been shipped in interstate commerce;

(aaa) Ceasing or refusing to patronize any person regardless of whether he stands in the relation of employer and employee or is participating and/or interested in a labor dispute;

(b) Becoming or remaining a member of any labor organization or of any organization of employers, regardless of any such undertaking or promise as is described in Section 3 of this act;

BENEFITS CAN NOT BE WITHHELD

(c) Paying or giving to, or withholding from any person or persons any strike or unemployment benefits or insurance or other moneys or things of value;

(d) Aiding any person or persons in any labor dispute who is or are being proceeded against in, or is or are prosecuting, any action or suit in any court of the United States or of any state;

(e) Giving publicity to the existence of, or the fact involved in, any labor dispute, whether by advertising, speaking, patrolling, or by any other method not involving fraud or physical violence;

(f) Assembling to act or to organize to act in promotion of their interests in a labor dispute;

(g) Advising or notifying persons of an intention to do any of the acts heretofore specified;

(h) Agreeing with other persons to do or not to do any of the acts heretofore specified;

(i) Advising, urging, or otherwise causing or inducing, without fraud or physical violence the acts heretofore specified, regardless of any such undertaking or promise as is described in Section 3 of this act, and

(j) Nor shall any of the acts described in this section be considered or held to be unlawful.

PLOT INJUNCTIONS ARE FORBIDDEN

Sec. 5. No court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue a restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction upon the ground that any of the persons in a labor dispute constitute or are engaged in an unlawful combination or conspiracy because of the doing in concert of the acts enumerated in Section 4 of this act.

Sec. 6. No officer or member of any association or organization, and no association or organization in a labor dispute, shall be held responsible or liable in any court of the United States for the unlawful acts of individual officers, members, or agents, except upon clear proof of actual participation in or actual authorization of such acts or of ratification of such acts after actual knowledge thereof.

MUST NOT PREJUDGE EFFECTS

Sec. 7. No court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue a temporary or permanent injunction in any case involving or growing out of a labor dispute, as herein defined, except after hearing the testimony of witnesses in open court (with opportunity for cross-examination) in support of the allegations of a complaint made under oath, and testimony in opposition thereto, if offered, and except after findings of all the following facts by the court, to the effect—

(a) That unlawful acts have been committed and will be continued unless restrained; and

(b) That substantial and irreparable injury to complainant's property will follow; and

(c) That complainant has no adequate remedy at law.

Such hearings shall be held after due and personal notice thereof has been given, in such manner as the court shall direct, to all known persons against whom relief is sought; provided, however, that if a complainant shall also allege that, unless a restraining order shall be issued without notice, a substantial and irreparable injury to complainant's property will be unavoidable, such a restraining order may be issued upon testimony under oath sufficient, if sustained, to justify the court in issuing a temporary injunction upon a hearing after notice. Such a restraining order shall be effective for no longer than five days, and shall become void at the expiration of said five days. No restraining order or temporary injunction shall be issued except on condition that complainant shall first file an undertaking with adequate surety sufficient to recompense those restrained or enjoined for any loss, expense, or damage caused by the improvident or erroneous issuance of such restraining order or injunction, including all reasonable costs (together with a reasonable attorney's fee), and expense of defense against the order or against the granting of any injunctive relief sought in the same proceeding and subsequently denied by the court. The undertaking herein mentioned shall be understood to signify an agreement entered into by the complainant and the surety upon which a decree may be rendered in the same suit or proceeding against said complainant and surety, the said complainant and surety submitting themselves to the jurisdiction of the court for that purpose. But nothing herein contained shall deprive any party having a claim or cause of action under or upon such undertaking from electing to pursue his ordinary remedy by suit at law or in equity.

MUST COME WITH CLEAN HANDS

Sec. 7a. No restraining order or injunctive relief shall be granted to any complainant who has failed to comply with any obligation imposed by law which is involved in the labor dispute in question, or who has failed to make every reasonable effort to settle such dispute.

Sec. 7b. No restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction shall be granted in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute, except on the basis of findings of fact made and filed by the court in the record of the case prior to the issuance of such restraining order or injunction, which order or injunction shall not be granted in violation or disregard of any provision of this act; and every restraining order or injunction granted in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute shall include only a prohibition of such specific act or acts as may be expressly complained of in the bill of complaint or petition filed in such case and as shall be expressly included in said findings of fact made and filed by the court as provided herein.

MUST CERTIFY ENTIRE RECORD

Sec. 7c. Whenever any court of the United States shall issue or deny any temporary or permanent injunction in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute, the court shall, upon the request of any party to the proceedings, forthwith certify the entire record of the case, including a transcript of the evidence taken, to the Circuit Court of Appeals for its review. Upon the filing of such record in the Circuit Court of Appeals, the appeal shall be heard and the order or decree affirmed, modified, or set aside with the greatest possible expedition, giving the proceeding precedence over all other matters except older matters of the same character.

Sec. 8. In all cases where a person shall be charged with contempt for violation of a restraining order or injunction issued by a court of the United States in cases involving or growing out of a labor dispute (as herein defined) the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the contempt shall have been committed; provided that this requirement shall not be construed to apply to contempts committed in the presence of the court or so near thereto as to interfere directly with the administration of justice or to apply to the misbehavior, misconduct or disobedience of any officer of the court in respect to the writs, orders, or process of the court.

MAY DEMAND NEUTRAL JUDGE

Sec. 9. The defendant in any proceeding for contempt of court is authorized to file with the court a demand for the retirement of the judge sitting in the proceeding, if the contempt arises from an attack upon the character or conduct of such judge and if the attack occurred otherwise than in open court. Upon the filing of any such demand the judge shall thereupon proceed no further, but another judge shall be designated in the same manner as provided in case of the approval of an affidavit of personal bias or prejudice under Section 21 of the Judicial Code. The demand shall be filed prior to the hearing in the contempt proceeding.

Sec. 9 (a). Any provisions of a restraining order or injunction heretofore issued or granted which are in conflict with any principle or provision of this act are hereby declared to be null and void.

LABOR DISPUTE IS DEFINED

Sec. 10. When used in this act, and for the purposes of this act—

(a) A case shall be held to involve or to grow out of a labor dispute if the case involves persons who are engaged, either as employer or employee, in the same industry, trade, craft or occupation; or who are employees of the same employer; or who are members of the same or an affiliated organization of employers or employees; or who are members of several organizations of employers or employees engaged in the same general industry, project, undertaking or activity; or who are members of an organization composed of representatives of several organizations of employers or employees; whether such dispute is (1) between one or more employers or association of employers and one or more employees or associations of employees; (2) between one or more employers or associations of employers and one or more employers and associations of employers; or (3) between one or more employees or associations of employees and one or more employees or associations of employees.

PARTIES TO SUIT LIMITED

(b) Persons shall be held to be in a labor dispute if relief is sought against them and they are engaged either as employer or employee in the same industry, trade, craft or occupation in which such dispute occurs, or are employees of the same employer; or are members, officers or agents of any association of employers or employees engaged in such industry, trade, craft, or occupation; or are members, officers or agents of several organizations of employers or employees engaged in the same general industry, project, undertaking or activity; or who are members, officers, or agents of an organization composed of representatives of several organizations of employers or employees.

(c) The term "labor dispute" includes any controversy concerning terms of employment or conditions of labor, or concerning the association or representation of persons in negotiating, fixing, maintaining, changing, or seeking to arrange terms of employment or conditions of labor, or concerning employment relations, or any other controversy arising out of the respective interests of employer and employee, regardless of whether or not the disputants stand in the proximate relation of employer and employee.

DEFINITIONS FOR PROTECTION

(d) The term "court of the United States" means any court of the United States whose jurisdiction has been or may be conferred or defined or limited by act of Congress, including the courts of the District of Columbia.

(e) The term "persons" shall be held to include all persons, associations or corporations, and the singular thereof.

Sec. 11. If any provision of this act or the application thereof to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the remainder of the act and the application of such provisions to other persons or circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

Sec. 12. All acts and parts of acts in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

Fifty-First Annual Convention Of American Federation of Labor

Canadian Government and Trade Union Officials Give Addresses of Welcome—Green Opens Convention with Keynote Speech

(Continued from Page One)

only had two presidents since the year 1886? The fact that you have only had two leaders has insured a permanence of policy so essential to the carrying on of your work.

Labor Legislation in British Columbia

"The labor legislation on the statute books of this Province of British Columbia, I may say, is a pattern for every Province and State on this continent. British Columbia was the first Province to pass the eight-hour law, as adopted at the session of the International Labor Conference, held in Washington, D. C., in 1919.

Unemployment Relief

"The worker is passing today through a serious phase in his history. Unemployment is rife everywhere, and almost every one has a reason for its cause. In this country we are of the opinion that the best solution that can be offered, if possible, is a job for every one, and the Dominion Government, in cooperation with this Province, have embarked upon a program in an endeavor to give to every resident and to every one who is willing to work a job, and the remuneration to be such as we think the taxpayers can afford to pay.

Right to Work

"Just as your organization has exhibited throughout the last half century of its existence a cohesion, a coordination and a unity of ideals, so should all nations today demonstrate, by mutual cooperation and team play, a desire to create a condition which will insure every man and woman who is willing to work an opportunity to earn an honest living."

Mr. Mackenzie concluded his remarks with the declaration that Labor would "contribute its share in pointing a way out of the present economic conditions," and expressed his conviction that the fifty years of experience of the American Federation of Labor would enable the convention to give "fair and square consideration" to all questions that came before it.

Pritchard Extends Greetings

His Worship, Reeve W. A. Pritchard, reeve of the municipality of Burnaby, delivered the closing address of welcome. Chairman Bengough introduced Mr. Pritchard as "one who received his early training in the trade union movement and is now using that training to very good advantage, and the public good, in the municipality of Burnaby."

Mr. Pritchard stressed the problem of unemployment, and condemned wage cutting as a remedy for the business depression.

Unemployment Problem

"Mention has been made of the present unemployment situation," he said. "I cannot see how it could be avoided. It is altogether too painfully obvious for any one to close his eyes to the situation and to say, 'Well, we have unemployment, but these men won't go out to find work, they won't rustle for a job.' I remember that kind of report was used with some effect not very many years ago. But times have changed, and whatever one's political ideas and economic theories may be, the situation is one that undoubtedly must have a sobering effect upon every thinking person in this country.

Condemns Wage Cutting

"I am pleased to say, Mr. Chairman, that your President at least agrees with me in this, if in nothing else, that whatever other people may at this time suggest as an immediate step toward the amelioration of the present situation, the one way in which it ought not be done is to commence an attack upon the standard of living of the working population of this or any other country.

"It may take a very wise man in his finest moments of sagacity, a lot of time and a lot of energy to suggest what should be done, but without any egotism I want to say that some time ago I suggested that the ruthless wage-cutting that was instituted some eighteen months ago in this country and in the country to the south of us, the Republic from which you come, was a very fine example at least of how not to do it.

Cut Profits Instead of Wages

"If the locomotive of social progress, in its development under the given conditions of modern society, has grown a smoke stack of profits so high that the machine won't go under the tunnel of depression, it is precisely the wrong way to get it to move to take off the wheels of wages and expect the thing to roll along.

"I say that today, earnestly and solemnly, knowing very well that there are more people listening to me at this moment than are gathered here in this hall, and if we are all in earnest about this thing and want that machine to go forward, a much more satisfactory solution for the immediate future would be sought by taking a few inches or feet off that extended smoke stack of profits, instead of trying to put flat tires upon the wheels of wages.

Fallacy of Reducing Buying Power

"For with all the visions we may have of the return of industrial prosperity, we must not lose sight of this fact, that such prosperity as may come back to us under modern conditions can depend only upon a successful marketing of vendable goods, and with that return of prosperity for which we hope, how in the name of all that is good can you expect an increasing market for those vendable goods, of which there is now a glut, if the first thing you do is to cut off the purchasing power of those people who constitute that market?"

Neither Idle Poor Nor Idle Rich

Mr. Pritchard expressed the highest satisfaction with the position of Herbert Hoover, President of the United States, and William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, in opposition to wage reductions, and looked forward to the coming of the day "when old men shall dream dreams and the young men shall see visions of a society in which there will neither be idling in want nor idling in luxury. That is the goal to be worked for. It is something every one of us, whatever our antecedents may be, can very well strive for."

All of the welcoming speakers expressed the hope for peace among nations and regarded the unifying influence of the labor movement as an important influence in this direction.

Bengough Presents Gavel to Green

At the conclusion of Mr. Pritchard's address, Chairman Bengough presented William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, with a gavel made and engraved by union men and carrying the inscription: "Presented to Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, the Fifty-first Annual Convention, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada."

President Green then delivered his annual address.

For Full Text See Page 1.

Green Inserts Right to Work In American Bill of Rights

(Continued from Page One)

reduce the standard of living, to depress the values already here, to reduce and impair the purchasing power to a much lower point?

There has come no collective voice from the management of industry, from the officers of corporations, from those who direct and control industry, that could be accepted and construed as a practical remedy for our economic ills.

Only labor, the men and women who toil, have developed a program, a plan, a remedy, and with all the vigor it possesses has asked the governments of these respective countries, the owners and managers of industry, economists and scientists, to accept our plan and apply it as a remedy in this distressing condition.

The answer we have received thus far has been to reduce wages, to add to our misery and to our distress, to destroy the limited purchasing power of the masses of the people as it now exists, to make it necessary for men and women to buy less and to use less and to consume less.

Is there any one with reason or judgment who can conscientiously believe that we can lift ourselves out of these depths of misery to which we have sunk by adding further to the depressing situation that has plunged us into these depths?

IMMEDIATE DIVISION OF WORK IS LABOR'S REMEDY

Well, my friends, our remedy is a practical one.

We propose that men and women shall be given the opportunity to work, that they shall share in the work available, that one man or one woman is as good as another, that there shall be no discrimination, but that all, just like a family, shall share in the work available.

We hold that this can be done through an adjustment of the working time and in accordance with the economic and industrial requirements of this day and age.

Mechanical processes, science and invention, the substitution of mechanical forces for human service, have made it absolutely impossible for industry to supply men work continually under the old six day program, as we did years ago when hand labor characterized the personnel of the factory and the transportation lines of the nation.

Now the machine is doing the work that human hands formerly did.

FIVE-DAY WEEK AND SHORTER WORK DAY

Notwithstanding that fact, the managers of industry still persist in their efforts to have men work six days per week and long hours while others are idle.

We propose the immediate establishment of the five day work week in both public and private industries.

We propose further that the working day shall be so shortened as to meet the requirements of this unemployment situation, and work divided through an adjustment of the working time, so that the slack of employment may be taken up and all men and women given an opportunity to work.

WAGE STANDARDS MUST BE MAINTAINED

We propose further that the wage structure erected through the efforts of organized labor and the working men and women of the different nations of the world, and particularly of our own country, shall not be destroyed and the wage standards shall not be lowered.

If industry, through force and brutality, if industry, through the application of the law of the jungle, through the use of the primitive club of the Indians, forces men into subjection, then wage reductions will be established in spite of our protest and against our judgment.

But I warn these people who, through force and domination and dictatorship and brutality, exploit the masses of the people, forcing them down and down to the lowest depths of despair, that they can only drive them so far, and then they will turn eventually and rend those who do it.

I feel very deeply upon this subject, very deeply indeed, and in expressing my feelings, tempered by my judgment, I know I am but reflecting the opinions and the feelings of the millions of working men and women whom we represent.

SOCIAL REVOLT LOOMS FROM WAGE CUTS

There is a tremendous feeling of social unrest developing. It is apparent on every hand.

Men who are regarded as careful in the use of language, in the use of words, are beginning to speak in most emphatic terms, and it is for that reason that I feel justified, as the spokesman of millions of people, to warn these men who are forcing unorganized workers to accept reductions in wages, that if they pursue that policy they will go too far.

Read the history of the nations of the world.

Revolutions grow out of unrest and hunger, and the aristocracy of these nations never learn.

They seem to assume the attitude of indifference, of security, without taking into account the history of those nations where revolutions have overturned existing governments.

The standard of life and living among the masses of the people must be maintained upon a high level if domestic tranquillity and social satisfaction is to prevail.

Men and women must be conscious of the fact that they are receiving a square deal, that they are being treated fairly, that they are not the victims of injustice, oppression, of exploitation.

The permanency of our institutions depends upon such a state of mind.

With all the emphasis I possess I want to again warn these men against a continuation of this wage cutting, life-destroying policy that is being pursued by some of these heartless corporations.

HUMAN RIGHTS MUST INCLUDE RIGHT TO WORK

It is my opinion that the time has arrived when the representatives of labor can take, with every feeling of justification, a most advanced position upon the question of human rights.

You know we always regard the exercise of the enjoyment of the right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as most sacred indeed.

The whole civilized world was inspired when that great, immortal document was published throughout the world, written by the immortal hand of Thomas Jefferson.

He took a most advanced position then, setting forth to the world that men and women possessed certain inalienable rights, rights that could not be challenged, rights that were inherent, inalienable rights, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

I think that that could be amended in the Republic of the United States by adding to it the right to work. I maintain that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness means little to the masses of the people unless they possess the right to work.

ABSTRACT LIBERTY MEANS NOTHING TO HUNGRY MEN

Go into the home of a hungry man, with his hungry family suffering from unemployment, denied the right to work, and discuss with him the abstract principles of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

It means little to him. What he is thinking about is work, the right to work, the creation of work opportunities, for he can only be made happy, he can only enjoy happiness when he is accorded the right to work and to earn a decent living.

The position we must take is that this is an inalienable right, a sacred right, a right that any system of government, let it be capitalism, private ownership of property, or any other form of government, must guarantee to the masses of the people.

I do not mean by this that we should call upon these industrial representatives to do the impossible, but I do mean that we can demand that they, along with labor and those clothed with authority, adjust and readjust the economic conditions and the working time, so that all may enjoy the right to work.

Behold a land where men are employed, behold a community where working men and women earn a decent living, and there you behold such a place, you behold a collective community of men and women who are living in a reasonable state of satisfaction, providing they are not conscious of the fact that they are being exploited.

So that, my friends, reasoning this from every point of view, in my judgment we have arrived at the time when we can, and must, and will demand the right to work and to earn a decent living, because life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness depend upon the exercise of the right to work.

WEALTH INEQUITABLY DISTRIBUTED

I cannot close these remarks without referring to a great evil that has grown constantly, one that is occupying the attention of working men and women and their friends everywhere, and that is this continually manifest, evident, inequitable distribution of the wealth of the nation.

We hold that if these corporations, these owners of corporations who have accumulated great wealth had distributed that which it seems to me they do not justly possess to the masses of the people in the shape of wages, then these large fortunes would not have been accumulated.

We believe that if they would distribute their wealth in the way of wages—because it is working men and women who create this wealth—that these periods of unemployment would be eliminated.

HIGHER WAGES OR HEAVY TAXATION OF LARGE FORTUNES

And so we propose, first, that the wage standards shall be built up, that the earnings of industry shall be more equitably distributed, that instead of a corporation declaring 40 per cent dividends to the stockholders and extra dividends in the shape of money payments, those values shall be equitably distributed among the working men and women who made this wealth possible.

And we hold that if they turn a deaf ear to our proposals, if they refuse to listen, then we shall go to the sovereignty of the people, to the legislative bodies of the nations, we shall go to that instrumentality set up by society, the Government itself, and there we shall call upon Government to exercise its taxing powers by distributing these large fortunes back to the people through the Government by the exercise of the taxing power of the nation.

Now we are deeply concerned over the existing situation. We are meeting now when it has become most acute.

HUNGER-STRICKEN JOBLESS MENACE GOVERNMENT

In the United States there are approximately seven million men out of work.

There are thousands out of work in the Dominion of Canada.

There are thousands, yes, millions, out of work in Great Britain and in other nations of Europe.

This great army of the unemployed stands as a menace to the security of governmental institutions.

There is no urge quite so powerful as the urge of the hunger instinct.

It moves men and women mightily.

They don't draw the fine line of distinction between that which seems right or socially wrong when they seek to satisfy hunger.

It is a mighty urge.

(Continued on Page Four)

Labor Demands Share in Economic Planning to Prevent Unemployment

JOB SECURITY VESTED RIGHT TO BE DEFENDED

Union Representatives' Presence On Every Official Group Deemed a Necessity

Job security as one of Labor's fundamental rights and necessary to obtain proper work incentive was demanded by the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor as a definite policy to prevent unemployment.

In expressing its "full approval" of the report of the Executive Council of the Federation regarding the imperative necessity for job security the convention declared:

"Because of human investments made by workers in industry, because of the innumerable and inescapable social obligations involved and growing out of our industrial activities, the workers have a right to job security as well as to work opportunities, without resort to or depending upon any temporary or permanent form of relief, whether private, or public, or both."

In its report on job security, which the convention approved, the Executive Council said:

"Trade unions have made some headway in securing recognition of the fact that wage earners are partners in production. Production is a joint undertaking. One group supplies capital; another credit; another group does the buying; another plans production; another does the fabrication of work necessary to give plans tangible form; another sells the product. All functions are necessary and interrelated. All make either tangible or intangible investments in the production undertaking and are dependent upon its success for their incomes.

"Wage-earners invest their special skills, their creative capacity, their judgment based on work experience, their ability to use materials, tools and time economically; they organize their lives around their specific jobs. They practically invest their lives and their capacities in their work. They have a very real claim to ownership of their jobs.

"In view of these investments, workers have a right to returns in the way of job security. Rules covering employment, jointly negotiated, should specify the period of time for which workers are employed. Workers who prove their capacity and demonstrate their ability should constitute a staff of permanent employes, secure in employment under prescribed conditions.

"Security of job means assurance of income which makes it possible for the wage earner and his family to plan their living over a definite period of time, and budget expenditures to their best advantage.

"Wage-earners who are daily or weekly in fear of loss of job cannot plan their living or use their minds most effectively. Fear is not the force that stimulates greatest productivity. Industry, through the co-operation of management and Labor, could develop methods appealing to incentives more fundamental for production purposes."

Facts Puncture Workers' "Prosperity"

The official ballyhooers of employers' organizations and their satellites never weary ot harping on the alleged prosperity of the workers in the United States.

In some quarters there is the conviction that this "prosperity" is largely a myth and belched forth as a smoke screen to conceal the tremendous profits appropriated by those who own industry and by ownership have the legal power to exploit labor often to an extent little less severe than the exploitation imposed on the slave workers under the slave labor system of wealth production.

There is a conviction among informed persons that adequate facts on income distribution would throw very informative light on this alleged prosperity of the working masses.

As a definite step in this direction the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor endorsed the recommendation of the Executive Council of the Federation for the creation of a central fact-finding agency to measure income, producing power, buying power and work time.

In support of its recommendation the Council used the figures on income distribution compiled from the income tax returns filed with the United States Internal Revenue Bureau. Referring to these figures the Council said:

> **From 1919 to 1927 the income of the average person receiving more than $5,000 a year increased by $2,151 a year; the income of the average wage earner increased by $176 per year. That is, the average man having more than $5,000 yearly gained 12 times as much as the average wage earner.**
>
> **Very few wage earners have an income of more than $5,000 a year. We may take this group then, as representing income receivers outside the wage earner and the small salaried group.**
>
> **In 1927, the proportion of wage-earners to those with higher incomes was approximately as 30 to 1.**
>
> **The Federal Income Tax Statements report a little over 900,000 returns which show an income of $5,000 a year or more; their average income was $15,388.**
>
> **There were over 27,000,000 wage-earners whose average income was $1,205. Would it not be possible to balance the gain of this lower income group and at the same time increase the total!**
>
> **In the eight years from 1919 to 1927, total wages paid in the United States increased by $9,855,000,000 a year, while total income paid to those with more than $5,000 increased by $5,354,000,000 a year.**

Employer statisticians and economists, and those who believe that the principles in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution fully warrant a wealth production system which naturally enables the rich to grow richer and compels the poor to grow poorer, have not been very prolific in analyses of these incomes designed to show the effect of the unbalanced distribution of the increased productivity of the workers on the relative status of the wealth producers. The Council filled the vacuum with the following conclusion:

> **This unequal distribution of the nation's income throws the industrial mechanism out of balance. A large proportion of the income of the rich is reinvested and goes to increase the capacity of industry to produce. When the distribution of wealth is unbalanced industry's producing capacity soon outstrips the buying power of the public.**

The Council also threw the spotlight on the transcendent inefficiency of those who own and operate industry in taking millions of dollars of their profits from the wealth produced by the workers and wasting huge amounts in building plants so much beyond the consuming capacity of the people that one would be justified in saying that their plant extension engineers were post graduates of psycopathic wards:

> **In June, 1929, at the very peak of our recent industrial boom when industry reached the highest production in its history, our mills and factories were so much overbuilt that even then they were nowhere near producing up to capacity.**
>
> **The rates of operation in a number of different industries for which we have figures are given below. If figures for other products were available they would show that this same condition ran throughout industry: Cotton finishing, 60 per cent of capacity; silk spinning, 63 per cent; steel castings, 80 per cent; steel barrels, 62 per cent; oil refining, 83 per cent; paper box board, 77 per cent; Portland cement, 81 per cent; glassware for lights, 46 per cent; glass containers, 82 per cent.**

From this wholesale victimizing the workers with small earnings, favoring the owners of industry with large profits, and the waste of industry's profits in unneeded factories, the Council reached the conclusion that indisputable facts are the first requirement in building up institutions to prevent unemployment in a system whose engineers and owners are constantly at work on that form of "progress" which consists in developing systems purposely designed to deprive workers of their jobs and hence of the right to live honestly.

It therefore recommended the creation of a "cntral fact-finding agency which will measure progress and balance gains in producing power against gains in buying power and the shortening of necessary work time against actual shortening of the work week."

COMPLETE BUSINESS PUBLICITY DEMANDED

The interlinking relationship between all groups engaged in the production and distribution of wealth makes it necessary that all the facts about business enterprises should be made public property.

This was the conclusion reached by the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor in its approval of public accounting as an integral element in the prevention of unemployment by co-ordinated economic development.

The convention, however, urged "care and caution that the proposal may not lead to undue state regulation of industry."

The establishment of public accounting was recommended by the Executive Council of the Federation in its annual report to the convention.

"The idea that private ownership entitles the owners to secrecy in methods and designs," the Council said, "is out of keeping with the fact that these factors directly affect results for other groups. Private ownership may entitle owners to make decisions, but full reporting of all the facts should make the information available to all concerned.

"The conduct of industry is a matter of so much consequence to all employed in the industry, to investors, to the communities, to the maintenance of markets, to our national economic balance, that we must work toward full and open records by prescribed forms of cost and production accounting.

"Any employer or groups of investors who have the privilege of operating gainful industry in any community ought to be required to make regular and prescribed reports. Public accounting according to prescribed methods is an obligation which accompanies the privileges to operate a business undertaking which affects the community as well as those who supply the credit and those employed by the undertaking.

"In a very definite way, interrelation of economic activities is increasing the degree of public interest in all business undertakings. This means that there should be public accounting on the facts of business which should be filed with the Federal Government and compiled there. The records should be open to responsible organizations."

STRENGTH OF TRADE UNIONS

Wages were not advanced and the hours of labor reduced because labor humbly presented its petitions.

Industrial conditions for labor improved because workmen, organized into trade unions, after exhausting all friendly methods of adjusting their desires, applied their collective and their militant strength.

Had it not been that trade unionists, time and time again, collectively refused to work unless the terms of employment and conditions of labor were more satisfactory, progress towards a higher standard of living would have been impossible.

If we understand the spirit and purpose of our trade union movement it is that primarily wage earners shall be taught to depend upon themselves rather than upon the fair promises or good intentions of others.—From the Report of the Committee on Resolutions to the 1931 Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Trades Unions and Economic Planning

The 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor emphatically endorsed the declaration of the Federation's Executive Council in its annual report that the organization of the workers in trade unions is of the greatest importance in any system of economic planning.

Business men's schemes for economic planning do not include bona fide representation of the organized workers. The convention condemned this anti-labor policy in the following language:

"Without organization in trade unions the wage earners are not alone denied a full and rightful participation in all matters affecting their employment relationship and precluded from determining the terms and conditions of their employment, but are likewise denied an effective voice and influence in the shaping and enforcement of national economic and industrial policies and practices.

"The organization of wage earners into trade unions is therefore of first and foremost consideration in any and all plans for national stabilization or economic balancing of industry."

In its report to the convention the Executive Council stressed the flexibility of trade union policy to meet the exigencies imposed by national economic planning.

In discussing the interests of the workers in the progress of industry and society and the desirability of trade union representation on boards having any jurisdiction over labor matters, the Council said:

> **To prevent progress from being badly balanced by too much income going into capital goods and too little into the pockets of wage-earners; to make sure that work hours are decreased in proportion to productivity increases instead of letting machines produce unemployment; to make sure that production experience is put to service in eliminating wastes; to make sure there is available producing workers competent, resourceful, and skilled, are union functions.**
>
> **Only a union has the independence, the power, and the authority to assume responsibility for keeping wage-earners' progress abreast social and economic progress.**

Nor did the Council mince words in describing the retrogressive influence of employers who outlaw the trade union from their plants:

> **Employers who have been fighting trade unions, who have refused their employees the right to organize, who have refused to meet effective representatives of their workers in order to negotiate terms and conditions of work, who have opposed the shorter work day, and the five-day week, who have resisted wage increase, have stood squarely against the road to progress and have opposed their own best interests.**
>
> **The union is an instrumentality of progress. It manages the business interests of wage-earners so that they can make progress. Sustained progress does not come from trusting to chance; it comes from thought, planning and organization to put plans into effect.**

The Executive Council also saw clearly that any scheme of economic planning, whether by industry or Government, will not be complete or equipped for proper functioning unless Organized Labor is represented:

> **Organization of workers in unions under their own control is essential to planning on a broader basis and to planning for related groups where interests are interdependent. In fact, unless Labor participates in the councils, national planning and balanced progress are impossible. Unorganized, Labor cannot participate in a representative group.**
>
> **Organization of workers in trade unions is a highly commendable and essential movement which should be accepted as public policy.**

In this connection it is significant that the so-called "labor representation" in the economic planning scheme proposed by Mr. Gerard Swope, president of the General Electric Company, for the electric industry ignored the trade union and set up the company union to represent the workers. The Executive Council describes "company unions" as "company controlled and company kept organizations of the workers."

Wages Must Not Lag Behind Labor's Output

The power of the owners of industry to victimize Labor with relatively low wages despite revolutionary increases in the quantity of wealth produced by the workers for the owners was condemned by the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor with the firm declaration that "there must be a balance of work time and wages" against the productivity of labor. In taking this forward position the convention approved the comparison of output with real wages made by the Executive Council of the Federation in its annual report.

The convention also concurred in the importance which the Council placed on trade unions as an institution to secure labor's rights.

The Council pointed out that the average worker in the manufacturing industries increased his output of commodities 26 per cent from 1899 to 1919, and 54 per cent from 1919 to 1929.

But when it comes to the advance in real wages, expressed by "wage rates per hour in all industry in terms of the goods they will buy," the Council finds that "wage rates advanced only 4.2 per cent from 1899 to 1919, compared with the 26 per cent advance in productivity, and 36 per cent from 1919 to 1929, compared with a 54 per cent advance in productivity."

In discussing the lesson to be drawn from these unimpeachable statistical facts, the Council said:

> **Economic equilibrium depends on keeping a balanced relationship between economic forces. For instance, consuming power must keep pace with producing power, income from trade and industry must be so distributed that it will increase the capacity to buy in proportion as it increases the capacity to produce. When these factors are thrown out of balance, trade and industry can no longer function normally, and we are plunged into business depression.**
>
> **It is the task of trade unions to see that the worker's side of the balance is kept up, and that workers advance proportionately with other groups. Wage-earners and small salaried workers with their families form 83 per cent of the nation's population and receive 54 per cent of the national income. Almost the entire amount of this income is spent to buy industry's products and services or to pay rent, for there is little margin for saving.**
>
> **In recent years workers have received about $32,000,000,000 a year. The immensity of this sum and its huge influence as an economic force, makes it essential that workers' income advance proportionately with industry's producing power. Industry depends on workers' buying; it is a severe handicap when workers' incomes do not keep pace.**

EMPLOYERS DEMAND LONG WORKING HOURS

Ignore Large Output and Jobless Army of Millions in Waging War for More Profits

The 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor expressed its emphatic opposition to the evident determination of those who own our industrial establishments to appropriate for themselves the vast increase in the amount of commodities produced by the workers and to refuse practically any reduction in the work-week.

The convention approved the following illuminating analysis made by the Executive Council of the Federation of the relatively small increase of the workers' leisure by the decrease in the length of the work week:

> **Because of the increase in productivity in manufacturing industry, work which took the average man a 59-hour week in 1899 could be done in 47 hours in 1919, but the work-week in manufacturing was actually shortened only from 59 to 52 hours.**
>
> **In 1929, work which took the average man a 52-hour week in 1919 could be done in 34 hours, but the work-week in manufacturing industry was actually shortened only to 50 hours. That is, an 18-hour decrease in necessary work time was compensated for by only a two-hour decrease in actual work hours.**
>
> **This development in manufacturing is typical of other industries except where unions have shortened work hours through the drive for the five-day week.**

The decision of the owners of industry to make millions of dollars in additional profits by holding the length of the work week up to 50 hours despite the wholesale increase in the workers' productivity enabled the employers to dismiss thousands of workers and throw them into the army of the jobless. On this point, the Council says:

> **The shortening of the necessary work time without corresponding adjustment in hours of work resulted in increasing technological unemployment. Even in 1929, the year of greatest industrial activity since 1920, there were 2,400,000 unemployed. This is an increase of 1,000,000 unemployed persons since 1920.**

In connection with the Executive Council's statistics it may be pointed out that under our present economic system the manufacturing establishments are the private property of stockholders and operated solely for the benefit of the stockholders. Management is vested in small groups of stockholders who own or control a majority of the voting stock and select the executive officials.

Except where they are coerced by statute law, or, as the Council says, influenced by strong trade unions, the length of the work day and the work week for the millions of workers is decreed by the dictatorial authority of the executive officials of the corporations.

It was the owners of industry, acting through the executive officials of industrial corporations, who decreed that in 1929 the work week should be 50 hours although the workers produced as much in 34 hours as they produced in 59 hours in 1899.

Even now, with an army of between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 unemployed compelling an unparalleled nation-wide drive for charity funds to keep them from starving, the owners of industry refuse to declare the five-day week to atone in part for their anti-social and unpatriotic long work day and work week policy of the last 30 years.

Altruism and Solidarity of Union Labor

Two items in the annual report of Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, to the 1931 convention of the Federation illustrate not only the altruism of organized labor but the profound solidarity of its members.

In 1929, the Executive Council of the Federation issued an appeal to organized labor for financial assistance for the striking textile workers in the South. It was an appeal, not an assessment. Trade unionists contributed $41,530.81.

In 1930, the Executive Council issued an appeal for money for the assistance of the Danville, Virginia, textile strikers. Trade unionists contributed $28,725.62 to this fund.

Rendering assistance to workers in distress because of their determination to resist wage reductions and other anti-social tactics of employers has always been one of the spiritual manifestations of the Labor movement.

A National Economic Council

The creation of a national economic council sponsored by the Federal Government with its functions limited to studying the mechanism of industry and suggesting policies to bring about teamwork among the elements engaged in the production and distribution of wealth, and thus avoid business depression was endorsed by the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor as a necessary part of a broad scheme to prevent unemployment. The Executive Council of the Federation urged the establishment of such an institution in its annual report to the convention.

In deploring the unlimited competition between business men as a wrong principle, the Council said:

> **Each group, each industry, each company, has been advancing its interest against the other, often at the expense of the others. To control our business machine so that it will function regularly we must learn how different parts work together so that we shall have a balance of forces and a balance in progress. Teamwork is what we need and leadership for teamwork. Teamwork comes from organized intelligence and co-ordinated activity.**

The Council also deplored as unjust the prevailing principle dominating the distribution of wealth as favoring those who own and control industry and victimizing the workers with long hours and low wages:

> **Our distribution of the returns from production are not balanced. Increased profits have been monopolized by the few so that the incomes of the masses—wage earners—have not increased sufficiently to provide buyers proportionate to the capacity of industry to produce.**
>
> **Instead of shortening the work day as output per worker increased, industries have taken away jobs from some workers and compelled the rest to work the standard which was adjusted to an older technical equipment.**

The Council believed that national economic planning will remedy the evils which were the contributing cause of the business depression which began in 1929 and are also the contributing cause to the continuance of the depression.

The Council declared that the key to this national planning would be a group sponsored by the Government to bring together the necessary information "revealing the interplay between economic forces" for the use of industrial groups in their individual planning and the development of policies to bring about concerted action. On this point the Council said:

> **To give all groups an understanding of how the national mechanism works so that each may understand how it fits into the whole operation is the first step in developing teamwork. Nothing more definite should be imposed upon any national economic council that might be created by our Federal government. We do not yet know enough to plan the agencies or chart the functions of economic control. We do, however, know that national economic conferences will disclose the way.**
>
> **We have, therefore, repeatedly urged upon the President of the United States that he call a national economic conference to find a way forward. Such a conference would be a step toward planning on a national scale. We have everywhere throughout industry very successful attempts at planning by industrial undertakings, by industries, by unions, by communities, by States and by geographic sections. But this is not adequate—there must be comprehensive planning by all the groups that affect each other. No one industry can prevent business depression—nor even all industries, unless they work together.**

The Extent and Sting of Unemployment

The 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor commended the Executive Council of the Federation for the facts it had collected regarding unemployment and for the wisdom shown in developing trade union sources of information.

In its report to the convention the Council made an analysis of recent statistics on unemployment to present a picture of the poignant effect on the workers of the wholesale refusal of the owners and managers of industry to employ them.

In April, 1930, the United States Bureau of the Census collected figures on the number of the jobless. The Bureau's returns showed 3,187,647 persons without work. Less than a quarter of them had been "laid off," which is a technical term used by employers and personnel statisticians to indicate a worker whom the employers refuse to hire but keep on their list to be reemployed at some uncertain date when business picks up.

Of the 3,187,647 who were reported by the Census Bureau as without jobs, 2,429,062 had been discharged and had no jobs to which they thought they could return.

On these figures the Council made the following comment:

> **Of those without jobs 42 per cent were heads of families. This means that over one million families were without their main sources of income or with no income at all. And they were forced to remain so for a considerable time.**
>
> **The difficulty of finding a job is shown strikingly. Although the depression was not nearly so severe in April, 1930, as since then, 55 per cent of those without jobs had been unemployed for more than two months, 40 per cent had been out of work over three months, and 14 per cent had been out for over six months.**
>
> **These figures indicate one major problem: to speed up contact between unemployed worker and job.**
>
> **A large proportion of the unemployed were over 45 years of age. Of all those 20 years old and over, 34 per cent were over 45 and 16 per cent were over 55 years old. The exact significance of these figures will be known when the Census publishes its report showing the numbers of workers over 45. In any case, it is clear that unemployment strikes those over 45 severely.**

Analyzed by industries the Council pointed out that the coal mine operators had dealt most ruthlessly with their employes by dismissing 20.2 per cent of the coal miners. The building industry employers had discharged 19 per cent of their employes. Taken as a whole the employers in the manufacturing industries had landed 8.9 per cent of the industrial workers in the army of the out-of-works.

The Census figures revealed that only 2.8 of the employes engaged in government and professional work were without jobs, and that 3.9 per cent of the employes in trade, 4.9 of the farm workers, and 6.4 per cent of the transportation workers were out of work.

The Council declared that on the basis of a census of the unemployed taken in 19 cities in January, 1931, the Department of Commerce estimated the jobless at 6,300,000. In the 19 cities the figures showed the jobless had increased 148 per cent since April, 1930.

The Council placed emphasis on the unemployment figures collected by the American Federation of Labor from the affiliated unions.

"The Bureau of Labor Statistics," the Council said, "now furnishes employment indexes in most of the important industrial fields. But the American Federation of Labor is the only organization gathering monthly figures on unemployment representing industry in general. We also publish the only monthly estimates of total unemployment in the United States. These monthly figures are exceedingly important. They enable the country to keep constantly in touch with unemployment development. Reports from trade unions now represent over 2,500 unions with a membership of 750,000."

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES ENDORSED

Public employment agencies are one of the essential features to connect the unemployed with jobs and to create work for the jobless. This was the conclusion reached by the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor when it adopted the recommendation for the enlargement of these agencies made by the Executive Council of the Federation in its annual report.

"Unless the work of directing the unemployed to employment opportunities is effectively organized," the Council asserted, "there will always be delays in connecting workers with jobs at hand. When a job means such essential and constructive relief every effort should be made to conserve its utilization.

"Every industrial community ought to have a public employment agency so efficient as to command the respect of employers and employes. This office should have its contacts with industries and all employing groups and have at hand that specialized information of job requirements necessary to render satisfactory service.

"In addition to conserving all available jobs, the local employment service can extend its usefulness by helping to make the public conscious of responsibility to provide all work possible, such as repairs, cleaning, building, service positions. The director of an employment service has a creative as well as an administrative responsibility.

"Effective organization of the labor market and every possible vigilance to increase the number of jobs available, is essential economically in order to provide the consumer buying power upon which production depends.

"Those industrialists who are efficient managers have widened the scope of their planning to include the full cycle of forces that affect their production. Every industrialist must buy, sell, and plan production over a period of years. He must understand and work with the principle of industrial balance.

"The employment service is a fundamental tool in maintaining consumer buying, which is the ultimate balance for all production."

557,921 UNION WORKERS HAVE THE FIVE-DAY WEEK

The 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor was especially pleased with the report of the Executive Council that 557,921 union workers have the five-day week despite the business depression.

In its report the Council pointed out that the Carpenters and Joiners' Union have 125,000 men on the five-day week; Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators, 76,543; Plumbers and Steamfitters, 41,076; Operative Plasterers, 26,448; Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers, 24,300; Electrical Workers, 40,000; Ladies' Garment Workers, 45,000; Elevator Constructors, 10,164; Machinists, 15,000.

The Executive Council stated that according to its official information there is no instance of workers formerly enjoying the five-day week having returned to either the five-and-a-half or six-day week.

Five-Day Week by States

In its report the Council included an interesting chart showing the distribution by States of the number of workers enjoying the five-day week.

The State of New York heads the list with 188,089 five-day-week workers. New Jersey comes second with 44,784, Ohio third with 30,464, and Pennsylvania fourth with 30,164.

The complete list follows:

Alabama, 1,273; Arkansas, 7; California, 17,132; Colorado, 2,700; Connecticut, 5,034; Delaware, 240; District of Columbia, 7,602; Florida, 975; Georgia, 1,575; Illinois, 58,657; Indiana, 5,960; Iowa, 1,613; Kansas, 123; Kentucky, 1,582; Maine, 97; Maryland 7,561; Massachusetts, 16,771; Michigan, 4,672; Minnesota, 2,248; Missouri, 17,054; Montana, 887; Nebraska, 231; Nevada, 520; New Hampshire, 458; New Jersey, 44,784; New Mexico, 78; New York, 188,089; North Dakota, 80; Ohio, 30,464; Oklahoma, 2,152; Oregon, 5,354; Pennsylvania, 30,164; Rhode Island, 1,762; South Carolina, 67; Tennessee, 851; Texas, 3,517; Utah, 55; Vermont, 2,403; Virginia, 525; Washington, 6,560; West Virginia, 346; Wisconsin, 1,936.

FEDERAL LABOR BOARD URGED BY A. F. OF L.

The establishment of a Federal Labor Board charged with the specific function of bringing together material on the progress of the wage earners was among the constructive measures urged by the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor in its general scheme for national economic planning to prevent unemployment.

The establishment of the board was recommended by the Executive Council of the Federation in its annual report to the convention.

In addition to the industrial information now collected by Government labor bureaus, the Council declared that the Federal Labor Board should compile information on man hours, length of work week, productivity, employment opportunities, unemployment, wage-earner incomes, and technological displacement.

"There should be indexes," the report said, "that would disclose mounting unemployment, trends in distribution of income, and inadequate buying power as balanced against production, so that the need for shorter work hours and higher wage rates might be realized in advance of the cumulation of forces making for business depression."

"Nothing but approval and support," the Council concluded, "is given merchants, industrialists and farmers who organize to manage their businesses efficiently and to increase their incomes. Such groups are given the benefit of every doubt when practices are under question.

"On its record of social and industrial service, Labor asks the same privilege to organize to control their interests and increase their incomes.

"Such a Federal Labor Board would give Labor Federal assistance and service comparable to what is given farmers and industry.

"We ask for equality of opportunity. If we are to have balanced progress Labor must be in a position to keep pace."

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
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Organized Labor's First Fifty Years

"The American Federation of Labor is primarily a constructive social organization founded on social idealism and on a broad vision of a better social order," declared the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor, in commending the report of the fifty years of service of the organization made to the convention by the Executive Council.

"The Federation," the convention continued, "looking back over fifty years, views with pride the social progress that has been made through its efforts and through its cooperation with other groups of organized citizenry."

A review of the Council's survey confirms the convention's declaration.

Social and Economic Progress

For half a century, from its almost infinitesimal beginning in a conference of five men in Terre Haute, Indiana, in 1881, the American Federation of Labor has stood, like a lighthouse builded on a rock, for everything that has made for the social and economic progress of the American working men and women, whether or not they were affiliated with unions, whether they earned their livings in dungarees or white collars, in office gowns or household aprons.

Particularly, since 1886, the American Federation of Labor has been in the forefront of all movements for the betterment of conditions among the common people, men, women, and especially children, irrespective of how or where the movement originated—and a generous share of such movements have originated within the Federation itself.

Pay Rates and Union Strength

In a survey of these fifty years of service, the Executive Council of the Federation, in its report to the 1931 convention, strikingly shows how in the Federation's own field of organization workers' gains and trade union strength are correlated. Wages have increased and hours have been shortened in direct ratio to trade union membership gains.

The organization was a major instrument in establishing the public school system, conventions of the Federation have endorsed and helped to secure better school laws, wider use of school plants, reduction in class sizes, increased pay for teachers and safety of tenure, text books on social subjects, citizenship training, and a host of other benefits undreamed of fifty years ago, but now a commonplace in the modern educational system.

Contributions in Industry

The Federation, in prosecuting its primal obective, the immediate welfare of the workers, has by its demands for better working standards, higher wage rates and shorter hours contributed notably to industrial improvement. Among such achievements are:

Intelligent cost accounting.
Improved machinery and technical processes.
Application of sound business principles to wage earning as a business.
Collective negotiation and co-operation.
The principles of the work contract.
Principles of time economics—the adjustment of work-day and work-week standards as conditions change, with scientific evaluation of the use of leisure.
Principles of personnel relations on the basis of union-management cooperation.

Social and Political Reform

Policy of regularity of employment for individuals and its essential concomitant of regularity of production.

In politics the American Federation of Labor, working always to put the principles of democracy into actual practice, has helped to establish:

The Australian ballot system.
Woman suffrage.
Initiative, referendum and recall.
Popular election of senators.
Primary elections.
Agencies working for international understanding and world peace.
Legislation regulating attachment for debts and assignments of wages, and exempting tools of trade or profession, and the homestead from executions.

Labor Legislation

Wage lien laws in all the States and workmen's compensation laws in several.
Sanitary legislation for industrial and commercial plants.
Protective laws for women in industry and commerce.
Mothers' pension and child labor laws in many States.

Among a host of other social achievements the Federation has been instrumental in bringing about are bureaus for gathering labor statistics, laws against the importation of contract labor, and the general strengthening of immigration laws to bar incoming aliens whose assimilation, if possible, could only endanger American standards.

Standing firmly on its first fifty years of economic, social and political achievement, faces our present problems with a constructive conservatism, a concilitory attitude, and an able leadership, all animated with the spirit of social idealism.

Labor faces the future backed by courage and buttressed by faith.

Retraining Workers Displaced by Machinery

Labor-displacing machinery installed by the owners and managers of industry enable one worker to produce as much wealth in the form of commodities as many workers produced by former methods.

There are also revolutionary changes occurring in the structure of industry caused by changing demands. Rayon takes the place of cotton. The motor bus takes the place of the railroad car and the railroad locomotive.

The result is that hundreds of thousands of workers, after having spent long periods of time in acquiring skill in certain lines and after having worked at one trade for years, find themselves without a market for their wealth producing ability.

To meet these "unprecedented technical changes taking place in all forms of human activity and production" the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor approved the recommendation for the wide extension of vocational counsel and retraining of workers displaced by machinery made by the Executive Council of the Federation in its annual report. The Council said:

> **If assistance in knowing the jobs available is supplemented by help in adapting work skill and experience to various industries, an element in flexibility is introduced that will help in meeting the problem of technological unemployment.**
>
> **The unprecedented rate of technical change in the past decade has made it plain that vocational education should provide opportunities for adults. Services for adults will be most practical when coordinated with the work of the employment service.**
>
> **The employment service accumulates information on the kinds of work for which wage earners will be hired and the relative number of employes needed. The vocational counselor should know what industries make use of similar skills so that courses of retraining can be worked out.**
>
> **Our educational agencies should consider this problem of vocational education for adults and make provisions to meet it. Experience in this field will in turn be reciprocally helpful in keeping vocational education for boys and girls practical and adapted to industrial and worker needs.**

A. F. of L. Officials Reelected

President William Green, Secretary Frank Morrison, Treasurer Martin F. Ryan, and the eight vice presidents of the American Federation of Labor were unanimously re-elected on the eighth day of the 1931 convention of the Federation at Vancouver, B. C. The vice presidents are: Frank Duffy, T. A. Rickert, Matthew Woll, James Wilson, John Coefield, Arthur O. Wharton, Joseph N. Weber, and G. M. Bugniazet.

Joseph A. Franklin, international president of the Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, and E. E. Millivan, secretary-treasurer of the Maintenance of Way Employes, were elected fraternal delegates to the 1932 British Trades Union Congress, and Frank B. Power, president of the Commercial Telegraphers, was chosen fraternal delegate to the 1932 Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Cincinnati, Ohio, was selected as the place of meeting for the 1932 convention.

In Memoriam

The most impressive ceremony at the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor was the tribute given to labor officials and representatives who had died since the 1930 convention.

The delegates remained seated while Secretary Morrison read the names of the deceased unionists. After the list was read, the delegates stood for a brief moment as their last tribute to their departed associates.

The names of the deceased trade unionists follow:

"Mother" Jones—100-year-old friend of Labor. Died November 30, 1930.

John W. Hays—Secretary-Treasurer, International Typographical Union. Died February 27, 1931.

Charles J. Moore—President, Connecticut State Federation of Labor. Died March 31, 1931.

Peter J. Conlon—Vice President, International Association of Machinists. Died April 1, 1931.

William M. Reilly—Delegate to A. F. of L. from International Typographical Union. Died April 15, 1931.

Andries Meyer—President, Diamond Workers' Protective Union. Died April 23, 1931.

James P. Egan—Editor of the American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service. Died June 7, 1931.

Arthur M. Huddell—President, International Union Operating Engineers. Died June 1, 1931.

Thomas Redding—First General Vice President, Sheet Metal Workers' International Association. Died May 25, 1931.

Martin T. Joyce—Secretary, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor. Died June 8, 1931.

Theodore Perry—First Vice President, International Typographical Union. Died July 28, 1931.

Hubert S. Marshall—Secretary, International Union of Journeymen Horse Shoers of the United States and Canada. Died July 31, 1931.

Morris Sigman—Former President, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Died July 20, 1931.

Tim McCreash—First Vice President, International Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. Died August 21, 1931.

Peter J. Brady—President, Federation Bank of New York; Chairman, Mayor's Committee on Aviation. Died September 21, 1931. Member International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America.

William J. Rooney—Business Agent, Chicago Local No. 73, Sheet Metal Workers' International Association. Died March 19, 1931.

Thomas P. Reynolds—Ex-Vice President, Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America. Died June 20, 1931.

Henry Waxman—General Treasurer of the United Garment Workers of America. Died June 19, 1931.

Fred Busch—Of Canada. Member General Executive Board, United Garment Workers of America. Died August, 1931.

George W. Lewis—Legislative Representative, Illinois; **John Strambo, John T. Dempsey, John Lakowitch,** of Pennsylvania, and **Andrew Watkins,** Ohio, all former district and international officers, United Mine Workers of America, who have died since the 1930 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

James W. Mullery—Editor, San Francisco Labor Clarion. Died July 25, 1931.

William Rander—Fifth Vice President, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers. Died July, 1931.

William L. Mayer—Vice President, American Federation of Musicians. Died March 21, 1931.

James A. Cooley—First Vice President, International Union of Operating Engineers. Died July 7, 1931.

John Ruckert—Second Vice President, Tobacco Workers' International Union. Died December 30, 1930.

William E. Carroll—For twenty years Executive Secretary Houston, Texas, Trades and Labor Council; member Pattern Makers' International Union. Died during 1931.

John Mangan—General Vice President, United Association Journeymen Plumbers and Steam Fitters. Died December 2, 1930.

Edward C. Alden—Seventh Vice President, Molders' International Union. Died August 3, 1931.

William A. Titus—Formerly a Vice president of Switchmen's Union of North America. Died August, 1931.

Thomas VanLear, Minneapolis—International Association Machinists. Died February, 1931.

John H. Bell—Formerly President of International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers, and **Edward N. Kelly,** a former Vice President, died in 1931.

Labor's Old Age Security Measure Revolutionizes Pensions for Aged

The 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor approved the model Old Age Security bill drawn up under the direction of the Executive Council of the Federation.

The bill proposed by the American Federation of Labor revolutionizes the present method of porteeting the impoverished aged.

With the exception of one State, old age pensions are paid by counties. In some States it is mandatory, while in other States the decision to pay old age pensions is left to the counties. Neither have proved satisfactory.

The bill of the American Federation of Labor avoids the word "pensions" as that term has caused much opposition to old age pension bills. The A. F. of L. bill proposes old age securities instead of pensions. The securities will be paid by the State. The old age security board will be composed of three elected State officials (to be designated by the legislature), who will serve without additional compensation during their terms of office.

The security may be granted to an applicant who is 60 years of age or upwards who has lived continuously in the State for not less than ten years. A decision on an application must be made within thirty days. The security will be $9 a week, to be paid monthly.

The object was to prepare a bill that would be less costly than those laws now in existence. Members of the board will serve without compensation and the cost of administration will be confined to the employes in the office of the board and in the field.

The following States have enacted old age pension laws: California, Colorado, Delaware, Idaho, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Utah, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

In some States the law is optional.

AFL Convention Approves Advance Public Works Planning to Avert Unemployment

Approval of the advance planning and regulated construction of public works to stabilize industry and aid in the prevention of unemployment in business depressions, as provided in the Wagner law, enacted by the last session of Congress, was given by the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The law establishes the Federal Employment Stabilization Board composed of the Secretaries of the Treasury, Commerce, Agriculture and Labor Departments.

The Board is required to advise the President of the trend of employment, business activity, and the existence or approach of business depression or unemployment. The Board is also required to cooperate with construction agencies in formulating methods of advance planning.

Another function of the Board is to advise the President of the value volume of contracts awarded for construction work in the United States during various periods corresponding with similar periods in previous calendar years.

"Upon recommendation of the Board," the Council's report stated, "that there is likely to exist within six months a period of business depression and unemployment, the President can transmit to Congress estimates for emergency appropriations. Such emergency appropriations shall be expended only for building roads, rivers and harbor works, flood control projects and public buildings under the provisions of laws now in effect.

"The intent of Congress is to arrange for the construction of public works in such a manner as will assist in the stabilization of industry and employment through the proper timing of such construction.

"For many years the American Federation of Labor has pleaded with Congress for this legislation. In 1893, the American Federation of Labor declared that 'while we applaud the humane efforts of private individuals to relieve the terrible distress of the unemployed, we most respectfully but emphatically insist that it is the duty of the city, state and national governments to give immediate and adequate relief.' It was also repeatedly declared that arrangements to construct public works in times of depression should be made in prosperous times.

"We are sure," the Council concluded, "that if the advance planning law is faithfully carried out it will prove its effectiveness in times of business depression."

The convention asked the Council to watch the administration of the Wagner law "so that its intent and purpose may be fulfilled."

AFL BUSINESS SURVEY HELPS UNION OFFICIALS

The value of the Monthly Survey of Business, published by the American Federation of Labor, to trade union officials was stressed in the report of the Executive Council of the Federation to the 1931 convention.

"An important part of a union executive's equipment," the Council said, "is accurate information on business developments which affect workers' interests. The Monthly Survey of Business brings our local union executives every month a brief outline of the most significant developments. Its circulation has more than doubled in the past year, showing that union officers are availing themselves of the opportunity to know business facts.

"The Survey has continually pointed out the danger of wage reductions, showing the importance of workers' buying power, compared wage losses with dividend increases, and shown the importance of reserves for wages as well as reserves for dividend payments.

"We have kept our executives in touch with developments abroad which affect workers in America, farmers' problems and special problems of certain industries, such as building and railroads. Reports on unemployment and workers' buying power also keep the losses of wage earners before the country."

The Monthly Survey of Business was approved by the convention. It gives "accurate information on business developments which affect workers' interests and has proven of great worth," the convention declared.

AFL LEGAL INFORMATION BUREAU EXTENDS SCOPE

The American Federation of Labor Legal Information Bureau is functioning in a very able manner, according to the report of the A. F. of L. Executive Council to the annual convention of the Federation.

"The Bureau has continued its policy of publishing court decisions of interest to Labor," the Council said, "and at the same time has sought to extend its activities in other fields. Where questions of a legal nature have arisen of interest to other organizations and industries they have been referred promptly to the organizations concerned, not only for their information and guidance but also so that the Bureau might be in receipt of their thoughts and decisions upon the matter."

The Bureau publishes court decisions in the Legal Information Bulletin, which appears periodically.

The convention commended the work of the Legal Information Bureau with the declaration that it "is becoming increasingly more valuable. The interchange of reports and communications between the Bureau and the constituent members of the American Federation of Labor has been complete. Mutual service of a very valuable kind has thereby been rendered."

PREVAILING WAGE RATE LAW GUARDS UNION WAGE

The prevailing rate of wage law enacted by the last Congress, requiring contractors and subcontractors on public buildings in the United States and the District of Columbia to pay adequate wages, received the hearty approval of the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor. The convention regarded the law as of great value in maintaining union wage rates, and requested organizations affiliated with the Federation to report violations of the act.

The information, the convention said, will be used to support such amendments to the law as may appear necessary to secure complete protection of wage rates.

"The prevailing wage rate law," the Executive Council of the Federation said in its report to the convention, "provides that every contract in excess of $5,000 in amount, to which the United States or the District of Columbia is a party, shall contain a provision that the rate of wages for all laborers and mechanics employed by the contractor or any subcontractor shall be not less than the prevailing rate of wages for work of a similar nature in the city, town, village, or other civil division of the State in which the public buildings are to be located, or in the District of Columbia, if they are located there.

"It also provides that in case any dispute arises as to the prevailing rates of wages for work of a similar nature which cannot be adjusted by the contracting officers, the matter shall be referred to the Secretary of Labor for determination and his decisions thereon shall be conclusive on all parties to the contract. The Act became effective April 2, 1931.

"Representatives of the Government charged with the responsibility of carrying out contracts testified before the committees of Congress that in the event any contractor failed to pay the prevailing rate, as determined by the Department of Labor, payment on the contract will be withheld until he complies with the law. It was also stated by the same officials that any contractor who refused to pay the prevailing rates of wages would be considered as an irresponsible bidder for public building contracts."

ORGANIZED LABOR CREATES JOBS FOR NAVY YARD MEN

Employment for many men who would otherwise be in the army of the jobless was secured by Organized Labor during last Winter's session of Congress by the enactment of laws for modernizing our naval armament, declared the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in its report to the 1931 convention at Vancouver.

"Because of the activities of the organizations interested in securing employment for the navy yards and voted to modernize three battleships at cost of $30,000,000 and appropriated $10,000,000 to begin the work. An additional $10,000,000 was appropriated to arsenals," the report stated, "Congress begin construction of 11 destroyers, the total cost of which will be $51,700,000."

"In making the appropriations for the Navy Department the law provides that all articles used shall be purchased in the United States, if the excess cost is not appreciably greater."

The convention of the Federation approved this effort of the Executive Council to provide work for the unemployed.

AFL CONVENTION HITS LOWEST BIDDER FALLACY

The anomaly of antilabor provisions being written into Government contracts for the construction of public works without authority of law and merely by the ipse dixit of the Comptroller General of the United States was condemned by the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor on the basis of a report by the Executive Council of the Federation.

In condemning the "lowest bidder fallacy," the Council said:

"No law has been enacted by Congress which provides that the lowest bidder on public works or buildings must be awarded a contract. The practice of the Government in awarding contracts to the lowest bidder is the result of a decision made by Comptroller General McCarl.

"This method of awarding contracts has permitted many contractors to submit exceedingly low bids because they employ mostly 'handy' men at low wages. Some of them transport workers from one State to another and feed and lodge them in barracks on the building site.

"In order to eliminate this grievance a bill has been prepared to be introduced in the next Congress providing that the award shall be made to the 'bidder whose bid, conforming to the specifications, will be most advantageous to the Government, price and other factors considered.'"

The convention urged the Executive Council to secure the enactment of the recommended bill.

600,000 FEDERAL EMPLOYES GET WEEKLY HALF HOLIDAY

Gratification was expressed by the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor over the report by the Executive Council of the Federation that legislation was secured during the last Congress giving the shorter work week to 600,000 Federal employes. "The good effect of this salutary example on private employment cannot be overstated," the convention declared.

"Nearly 600,000 employes of the Federal Government and the District of Columbia," the Council stated, "were granted a shorter work day on Saturdays the year round in two laws enacted by Congress, without reduction in wages and salaries. The first provided for a 44-hour week for 315,000 employes in the postal service and the others were later given the same benefit in the law enacted just before Congress adjourned. Representatives of all organizations affected worked valiantly for success.

"While the postal employes' bill passed both Houses unanimously without a voice being raised against it, the other bill was opposed by one representative on the floor, but the House passed it unanimously."

The Council's report also records the fact that President Hover vetoed the bill passed by Congress providing for increase of $100 per annum for 926 underpaid village letter carriers.

Employers Refuse Labor's Plans To Provide Work for Unemployed

The 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor emphatically condemned the owners and managers of industry for their persistent refusal to consider Organized Labor's long-range constructive measures for remedying unemployment.

In its report to the convention the Council stated that business leaders had not only ignored Labor's plan, but had presented none themselves.

The recommendations, turned down by the employers, which were submitted to the convention, follow:

> **That President Hoover call a national conference of representatives of employers and Labor to deal directly with the unemployment problem and devise a plan for dividing available employment among all workers.**
>
> **That to accomplish the division of work a five-day week and shorter work day be inaugurated immediately in all public and private industry.**
>
> **That wage structure and wage standards be maintained.**
>
> **A guarantee that all workers now employed shall be assured of their positions and that work be shared equitably by all through spreading of work time.**
>
> **Prohibition of child labor and employment of adults.**
>
> **Stabilization of industry, especially those branches seasonal in character, by carrying on improvements during slack periods.**
>
> Application of a more scientific plan of industrial production so that a stable balance may be maintained and production carried on systematically over longer periods.

"These remedies for the unemployment situation," the report said, "have been submitted by the Executive Council and the officers of the American Federation of Labor to the owners and management of industry, but thus far there has been no response or no reply.

"We are firmly of the opinion that if they were accepted and applied in the manner herein outlined that the need for unemployment legislation would disappear and that work opportunities would be accorded all men and women able and willing to work."

The Council pointed out that the practicability of those employment remedies becomes increasingly apparent when the extent and capacity of our home market is taken into consideration. "Its consuming abilities and its constant requirements are well-nigh incomprehensible," the Council said. "More than 90 per cent of all goods manufactured in the United States is consumed in the home market. It has never been developed to its maximum capacity, and for that reason its consuming power, which now seems well-nigh inexhaustible, can be further increased through the development of an increasing purchasing power on the part of the masses of the people."

Fifty Years of Service

From the Report of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council to the 1931 Convention

Fifty years last August there met in Terre Haute, Indiana, a committee of ardent trade unionists who had been zealously working for a general labor organization that would unite all unions in a common movement for the protection and advancement of wage earners. The conference authorized a committee to call a national congress for the purpose of organizing a national labor organization. This committee consisted of L. A. Brandt, W. C. Pollner, P. J. McGuire, Mark L. Moore.

The Terre Haute conference made preliminary arrangements for the Congress held in Pittsburgh, November 15, which resulted in the formation of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions. There were 107 delegates to the Congress—the majority representing local organizations in Pittsburgh. Officers of national and international unions constituted the policy-making group and the following congresses were constituted practically entirely of these responsible representatives of organized crafts.

The first Federation was modeled after the British Trade Union Congress with an emphasis on legislative activity. It was not until its reorganization in 1886 that our Federation started along a development which relied upon economic organization and progress to lay the foundations for lasting progress. The reorganization in 1886 came at a crisis in trade union development. The new Federation designed to strengthen trade unionism, sponsored a development which has given wage earners the highest wages and standards of living ever achieved by producing workers.

The continuity of the Federation's leadership and policies has made possible sustained progress along approved lines. By determined efforts the Federation has been kept distinctively American. We have repeatedly refused to follow policies of other national labor movements that were practical for other countries when such policies did not lend themselves to our conditions and institutions.

Since 1886 the Federation has grown from representing approximately 100,000 workers to 2,889,550. Disregarding the war-time boom, we have a record of steadily increasing membership. Our policies of one union to a jurisdiction, and autonomy for trade union organizations, have barred from affiliation organizations not willing to conform to amalgamation principles determined by the central movement.

The organized labor movement in America wields a wide influence, affecting the unorganized as well as the organized. It has been in effect a flying wedge of shock workers who have raised standards and forced betterment for all workers.

The American Federation of Labor was entrusted with responsibility for promoting trade union principles and for serving as the coordinating agency for all union activity.

The end of fifty years of service is a most fitting time to make a survey of achievement. We, therefore, submit an inventory summarizing the results of activity.

Green Puts the Right to Work In the American Bill of Rights

(Continued from Page Two)

It cannot be dealt with through the application of those rules and laws that society has set up.

Shall this continue indefinitely?

STING OF CHARITY KILLS SELF-RESPECT

In the United States we are approaching the third winter.

That in itself presents a serious problem.

The resources of working men who, in the beginning, had some funds, are now exhausted. Men who were able to tide themselves over last winter cannot do so now.

They are dependent, and imagine a man, proud, maintaining his self-respect, resolute in purpose, being compelled by the sheer necessities of the occasion to accept charity or relief in any form!

I ask you, my friends, shall we make paupers out of men, strong, able-bodied, willing to work, anxious to work, and begging to work?

No such a condition as that should continue permanently.

FEAR DRIVES JOB-HOLDERS TO HOARDING

Men are afraid, working men are filled with fear.

They are afraid of the banks, because under our present system it seems they have broken down.

They are afraid of the unemployment situation.

They are afraid of the wage cutting policy pursued by many corporations, and, because they are afraid, their buying power is paralyzed and frozen.

They will not spend their money as freely as they did or as they will when conditions are normal.

Go to the postal savings centers of the nation and there find the increase in deposits.

Go ask the bankers about the business now being done through their safety deposit boxes, and the answer is that it has already increased enormously.

Why? Because of that unfavorable psychology established, the fear that exists in the hearts and minds of people, not only over the existing present conditions, but over the immediate future as well.

Forty million men working, eight million idle—eight million cannot buy; forty million will not buy because they are afraid that they, too, may become numbered among the army of the unemployed on the morrow.

RESTORATION OF WORKERS' BUYING POWER ONLY SOLUTION

How can they ever release this great purchasing power of the masses of the people so long as we continue this condition of unemployment and so long as we reduce wages?

For industry, foolish as they are, are doing nothing more than destroying their own market when they reduce wages.

And so they may as well understand now as to learn the lesson through a more costly experience, that prosperity and normal conditions can never return until the buying power of the masses of the people, until the consuming market, represented by the masses of the people, is developed to its highest point.

You can force wages down, but so long as you do misery will continue and the upgrade will never be reached until wages are restored.

In this convention we shall consider many problems affecting the economic and social well-being of the people.

LABOR'S SOCIAL JUSTICE PROGRAM

We shall outline a social justice program.

We shall further the enactment of legislation providing for old age pension legislation.

We shall demand of the Congress of the United States the enactment of an injunction relief bill that will make us free indeed, free to strike, free to organize, free to unite all the strength we possess in an effort to advance human values.

We shall fight for legislation for the children.

We shall fight for legislation for the women.

We shall offer to support legislation having for its purpose the advancement of the highest and best interests of all those employed in the Government service.

In addition to that we shall offer a concrete program here of temporary relief for the unemployed, and we shall supplement that by offering a program that we believe, if accepted and applied, will bring about a permanent solution of these distressing economic conditions.

What a great task! What a great work is before us in the atmosphere of this wonderful city, hewn out of the primeval forest!

We shall work honestly and diligently, endeavoring to realize our objectives and our ideals.

And, lastly, we are thinking about our record, the record of this great movement.

We are permitted here to survey a pathway made through fifty years of service, and as we survey it, weigh its accomplishments, appraise its failures, and are inspired by its ideals and principles, we shall think about the pioneer and the crusader and the constructive trade unionist who helped make the great movement possible.

It is in that spirit, the spirit of the crusader, the spirit of the pioneer, the spirit of the constructive trade unionist, that we approach the consideration of our questions and the consideration of our problems.

American Federation of Labor Convention Summarized

The following topical summary of the declarations of the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor at Vancouver, B. C., is compiled from the official daily text of the proceedings of the convention:

Age Limit for Government Employes.—The convention instructed the Executive Council to consult with the various organizations of Government employes to obtain if possible agreement on this subject.

American Federationist.—The convention expressed satisfaction with the policy and scope of the American Federationist as well as with the inauguration of the Junior Union Magazine, a supplement for children.

American Federation of Labor Legal Information Bureau.—The convention commended the work of the Bureau.

American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service.—The convention recommended the continuation of the Weekly News Service "as an effective agency for a better labor press consecrated to the growth of the labor movement."

American-Produced Materials on Government Work in Canal Zone.—The convention requested the officials of the A. F. of L. to endeavor to secure the enactment of legislation requiring that the Panama Canal, the U. S. Army, the U. S. Navy, and contractors performing work for these establishments, shall purchase materials produced in the United States in every case where such materials of the quality desired can be purchased, irrespective of the cost of such materials.

Assured Employment.—The convention urged assurance of jobs to minimum work forces as part of the A. F. of L.'s emergency unemployment relief program.

Auto Stove Company.—The convention instructed the Executive Council to use its good offices to adjust the wage controversy between the Auto Stove Company of New Athens, Ill., and Local No. 72 of the Stove Mounters' International Union.

Border Patrols.—The convention opposed legislation "designed to unite the various border patrols in such manner as to concentrate largely upon the enforcement of only one law."

Bituminous Coal Situation.—The convention endorsed the bill of the United Mine Workers of America proposing to make coal a public utility and for the establishment of a Federal Coal Commission to regulate the bituminous coal industry.

Canal Zone Retirement Law.—The convention commended the Executive Council for its work in securing the enactment of a retirement law for the employes of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company.

Child Labor Amendment.—The convention stressed the importance of the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment to the Federal Constitution, and that local labor groups endeavor to defeat candidates for State legislatures who do not pledge themselves to vote for ratification.

Child Welfare.—The convention declared that the American Federation of Labor should use its influence to improve legislation in the various States relative to child labor and school attendance, and recommended that the Executive Council undertake a survey of State welfare laws and draft a model child protection law for submission to the State legislatures.

Civil Liberties.—The convention denounced all attempts by police authorities to suppress free speech and peaceable assemblage, and demanded the prosecution of all officers so abusing their power. The convention also condemned all legislation intended to limit the freedom of the press or of the individual to express freely their opinions, and urged the repeal of any such statutes now in force.

Cleveland Co-operative Stove Company.—The convention instructed the Executive Council to use its good offices in endeavoring to adjust a dispute between the Stove Mounters' International Union and the Cleveland Co-operative Stove Company.

Columbia Basin Irrigation Project.—The convention referred a resolution approving the Columbia Basin Irrigation Project to the Executive Council with instructions "to secure, if possible, some pledge or understanding from government authorities that union principles and standards will be followed in all construction and related work."

Competition of Enlisted Men in the Navy with Civilian Workers.—The convention favored the enactment of legislation restricting the employment of enlisted men and officers of the Navy on repair and overhaul jobs on vessels of the U. S. Navy and giving greater employment to civil employes of the navy yards and stations.

Compulsory School Attendance.—The convention declared in favor of compulsory full time education to the age of sixteen and part-time education to the age of eighteen for all children in every State and that adequate machinery be provided and maintained for the enforcement of such law.

Construction and Repair Work on Naval Vessels and Parts Thereof.—The convention favored legislation providing that the construction and repair of naval vessels shall be done in Government navy yards and that the structural and mechanical parts necessary shall be manufactured in Government plants, and instructed the Executive Council to endeavor to secure the enactment of laws to achieve this result.

Convict Labor.—The convention favored the further restriction of convict labor goods, urged aggressive work to extend the State-use system, and stressed the importance of securing the necessary State legislation to supplement the Hawes-Cooper law.

Credit Unions and Small Loans.—The convention commended the Executive Council for its efforts to secure legislation to protect small borrowers in the District of Columbia, and suggested close scrutiny of small loan bills in the next Congress "to make certain that they cannot be perverted to legalize 'loan shark' methods or any system of salary buying."

Disarmament Conference in Geneva.—The convention petitioned the President of the United States to include a representative of labor in the deputation of advisers to the General Disarmament Conference in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1932.

Economic Planning.—The convention favored national economic planning sponsored by the Federal Government in connection with a policy for co-ordinated economic development.

Educational Activity by Central Labor Unions and State Federations of Labor.—The convention urged that central labor unions appoint educational committees to make fact-finding studies of local economic situations and that State federations of labor establish contacts with State universities to ascertain to what extent the educational facilities may be made available to Labor for study groups, institutes and summer conferences.

Educational Activities of the American Federation of Labor.—The convention recommended that the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor "undertake an appraisal of all of the existing educational activities of the American Federation of Labor," and "be empowered to co-ordinate and consolidate all such activities as may serve the most effective growth and development of the labor movement in the future."

Eight-Hour Work Day for Fire Fighters of Greater New York.—The convention instructed the officers of the A. F. of L. to co-operate with the representatives of the International Association of Fire Fighters and the Uniformed Firemen's Association, Local No. 94, to secure municipal legislation providing for the eight-hour working day for the firemen of the city of New York.

Employment Agencies.—The convention urged the extension of public employment agencies as part of the A. F. of L.'s emergency unemployment relief program.

Employment of American Citizens on Panama Canal Work.—The convention protested against the employment of aliens in positions of responsibility on the Panama Canal and approved the principle that all positions on the Canal be filled by American citizens.

Employment of Teachers.—The convention opposed discriminatory tactics in the employment of teachers and declared that the basis for selecting teachers should be their preparation and training for their work and their ability to render efficient service, and that the economic status of the individual should have no place in determining a teacher's fitness.

Employment Service.—The convention favored the wide extension of public employment services in connection with a policy of co-ordinated economic development, and urged full cooperation of organized labor with the Employment Service administered by the U. S. Department of Labor.

Employment Statistics.—The convention urged a wide extension of employment statistics compiled by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Federal Building Projects.—The convention asked the Executive Council to endeavor to have contracts for stone products used on Federal building projects more widely distributed and that the five-day week and eight-hour day be observed in such projects.

Federal Labor Board.—The convention favored a Federal Labor Board in connection with a policy for co-ordinated economic development.

Federal Licensing Law for Business Concerns.—The convention referred to the Executive Council for study and investigation a resolution calling for the enactment of a Federal licensing law for manufacturing and commercial concerns whose products enter interstate commerce.

Fingerprinting.—The convention opposed the introduction of fingerprinting by the Government as a requirement for employment.

Five-Day Week.—The convention approved the work of the Executive Council in extending the five-day week and urged affiliated organizations to assist the Council in securing complete information regarding the growth of the shorter work week.

Five-Day Week for Postal Workers.—The convention endorsed the early establishment of the five-day week in the Postal Service without reduction in present pay rates and instructed the Executive Council to assist the postal organizations in securing it.

Free Press.—The convention approved the statement by the Executive Council that the decision of the Supreme Court in the Minnesota free press case was a great victory for freedom of speech and press, and declared that labor's injunction bill provides the same protection in labor disputes.

George Washington Birthday Anniversary Celebration.—The convention approved the efforts of the Executive Council in familiarizing organized labor with the procedure in connection with the celebration of the two hundredth birthday anniversary of George Washington, which begins on February 22, 1932, and continues until Thanksgiving Day. The convention urged that the Executive Council work out plans for the adequate participation of Labor in the celebration.

Gompers Memorial.—The convention asked the Executive Council to consider the advisability of having in Washington at the time of the dedication of the Gompers Memorial a pageant giving Labor's story, in which labor organizations may participate.

Government Employment Standards.—The convention reaffirmed its position in favor of higher Government employment standards and instructed the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of Government employes for remedial legislation relative to speed-up practices, sick and vacation leaves, the retirement law, night work, civil service court of appeals, postal substitute employes' and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions, and wage standards and working schedules.

Grigsby-Grunow Company.—The convention instructed the Executive Council to inform all affiliated organizations that the dispute between the Metal Trades Council of Chicago, the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Grigsby-Grunow Company has not been adjusted, and that the action of the Chicago Building Trades Council and the Chicago Federation of Labor in placing the company on the unfair list has the approval of the Metal Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor.

Hours of Labor.—The convention declared that hours of labor should be shortened to provide jobs for the unemployed.

Hotel and Restaurant Employes' Controversy with Cleveland Hotels.—The convention requested the A. F. of L. Executive Council to continue assisting the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' union in settling the controversy with the managers of certain hotels in Cleveland, O., who have locked out union employes.

Hoover Dam.—The convention authorized the Executive Council of the Federation to make a thorough investigation of labor conditions in the construction of Hoover Dam and to take measures to protect the employes.

Immigration.—The convention declared in favor of further immigration restriction.

Income Tax.—The convention indorsed a graduated State income tax levied by the States as the Federal income tax is levied.

Industrial Conscription.—The convention reaffirmed its opposition to industrial conscription in any form.

Inheritance Tax.—The convention favored the extension of the inheritance tax.

Injunction Legislation.—The convention endorsed the anti-injunction bill drafted under the direction of the Executive Council and urged aggressive action for its prompt enactment into law.

International Economic Situation.—The convention declared that we should not become involved in international agreements which would restrict our rights as free nations or place unjust and unwarrantable burdens upon the shoulders of our people.

International Labor Office.—The convention referred to the Executive Council a proposal that the proper authorities be approached to the end that the "government of the United States may have unofficial observers stationed at the International Labor Office." The convention authorized the Council to make a "thorough investigation of policies and decisions and take such action as it deems desirable."

Job Security.—The convention held that job security must inseparably be linked with a policy of co-ordinated economic development.

Labels on Food Products.—The convention referred to the Executive Council a resolution demanding legislation requiring that the producer's or manufacturer's name be printed on the containers of food products sold in the United States.

Labor Controversies in Wallpaper Industry.—The convention recommended that the Executive Council endeavor to adjust the labor controversy between the United Wallpaper Crafts of America and certain wallpaper manufacturing concerns in Joliet, Ill., and Glen Falls, N. Y.

Labor Day.—The convention urged that an endeavor be made to secure appropriate observance of Labor Day.

Labor Institute at Rutgers University.—The convention commended the Labor Institute at Rutgers University organized by the initiative of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor and recommended the plan to other State federations of labor.

Labor's Memorial Day.—The convention urged trade unionists to assist in plans for the proper observance of Labor's Memorial Sunday.

Labor Policy of Firms Seeking Higher Protective Tariffs.—The convention declared that it shall be the policy of the American Federation of Labor when Congress is considering tariff legislation to cooperate with national and international unions interested in certain schedules to have those seeking tariff changes for their industry subjected to questioning which will make public the wage rates paid to their employes, hours of labor, whether they believe in the wage earners' right to organize for self-protection, whether there are trade unions among their employes with whose representatives they are accustomed to discuss labor conditions, and whether this is by means of collective action, without interference of any sort.

Labor Press.—The convention directed the president of the American Federation of Labor "to appoint a special committee of five, of which he shall be a member, to study the situation surrounding the weekly labor press and news services," for report to the Executive Council to the end of strengthening the labor press service.

Labor Sunday.—The convention recommended that special efforts be made to have Labor Sunday fittingly observed.

Ladies' Garment Workers.—The convention instructed the Executive Council to cooperate with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in renewing its agreements with the dress and cloak manufacturers' associations in New York City.

Leisure.—The convention held that leisure for the workers by the shorter work time should be the result of increased output in connection with a policy of co-ordinated economic development.

Local Unions and Central Labor Bodies.—The convention urged the local unions of national and international unions to affiliate with central labor bodies.

Lowest Bidder on Government Work.—The convention approved the efforts of the Executive Council to secure legislation providing that awards for contracts on Government work be made to the bidder whose bid will be the most advantageous to the Government, price and other factors considered, instead of to the lowest bidder, as is now the practice.

Maternity and Infancy.—The convention recommended increased effort to secure the enactment of a maternity and infancy law that will enable the U. S. Children's Bureau to function as formerly in care of maternity cases.

Mexican Workers in the U. S.—The convention declared its opposition to the practice at certain points on the Mexican border of permitting Mexican workers to cross the international border at the beginning of each work day for the purpose of employment and again cross the border into their own country at the end of the work-day.

Military Training in Public Schools.—The convention reaffirmed its opposition to military training in public schools.

Monthly Survey of Business of the American Federation of Labor.—The convention approved the Survey of Business for the accurate information it gives on business developments which affect workers' interests.

Mooney Case.—The convention instructed the president and secretary of the American Federation of Labor to advise all affiliated organizations "that no appeal for funds on behalf of the Mooney-Billings cases receive any consideration unless such appeal bears the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor."

Motion Picture Employes.—A resolution in the direction of forwarding the recognition of the Associated Assistant Directors Union No. 18096 and the Associated Motion Picture Costumers' Union No. 18067, both of Los Angeles, Calif., by the producers of motion pictures was referred to the Executive Council in an endeavor to bring about the results sought.

Muscle Shoals.—The convention recommended that the Executive Council continue its efforts to secure legislation providing a practical way of solving the Muscle Shoals problem.

National Cleared Radio Channel for WCFL.—The convention petitioned Congress to appoint a joint committee of Senators and Representatives to investigate the Federal Trade Commission's allocation of channels, wave length and radio facilities and recommend legislation whereby organized labor shall receive its proper share of them.

National Labor Legislation.—The convention commended the Executive Council for its success in securing the enactment of 15 laws in the interest of labor during last Winter's session of Congress, and also for achieving the defeat of four bills inimical to labor. The convention requested the Council to support during the next Congress the three bills vetoed by the President providing for a national employment system, increase of wages for village letter carriers, and a practical way of solving the Muscle Shoals problem.

Non-Partisan Political Policy.—The convention reaffirmed the Federation of Labor's non-partisan political policy.

Notes for Speakers (A. F. of L. Publication).—The convention recommended the extension of this service.

Oil and Gas Corporation Employes.—The convention instructed the Executive Council to endeavor to have oil and gas corporations employ union labor.

Oil Embargo.—The convention recommended that the Executive Council watch developments in the oil industry and take any action they see fit in the next Congress to stabilize the oil industry in the interest of the workers.

Old Age Security.—The convention adopted a model old age security bill which provides $9 a week for dependent people who have reached the age of 60 years.

Oleomargarine Tax.—The convention endorsed the action of the Executive Council in opposing a tax on oleomargarine.

Older Workers.—The convention declared its opposition to employment policies which discriminate against older workers, declared that those who are planning for the care of the unemployed shall include provisions for older workers, and suggested that the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics continue inquiries to get the facts on employment of older workers.

Organizing Laundry Workers.—The convention instructed the A. F. of L. to send a circular letter to State federations of labor, city central bodies and A. F. of L. organizers requesting them to endeavor to organize laundry workers.

Organization of Hotel Workers.—The convention endorsed efforts of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' and Beverage Dispensers' International to organize all hotels and catering establishments within their jurisdiction.

Organization of Workers in Trade Unions.—The convention urged the more thorough organization of the workers in trade unions in connection with a policy for co-ordinated economic development.

Organizing Postal Laborers.—The convention pledged the A. F. of L. to assist in promoting the organizing of postal laborers in postal centers where they are employed.

Pan-American Federation of Labor.—The convention commended the Pan-American Federation of Labor for its methods of contact with the labor movements of Latin-American countries and the officers of the Federation for their procedure with regard to requests for civil intervention in political struggles in specific countries. The convention recommended that when the labor movements of the various countries desire a convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor appoint a delegation to represent the A. F. of L.

Pan-American Relations.—The convention approved a "policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of Latin-American countries by the Government of the United States."

Parent-Teacher Movement.—The convention urged local labor bodies to recommend that their members participate in the activities of the Parent-Teachers' Association so that the Association's influence upon the training of children shall be in accordance with the ideals of trade unionists.

Pequot Products.—The convention urged the membership of the affiliated organizations to purchase and promote union-made Pequot sheets and pillow-cases.

Personnel Classification Bill.—The convention opposed a proposed personnel classification bill for Government employes, because it would include members of organizations and trades who refuse to come under classification legislation, other than those who come under the jurisdiction of the National Federation of Federal Employes.

Peter J. Brady.—The convention expressed its "appreciation of the lovable qualities and sterling character of our friend and fellow worker, Peter J. Brady, and our great sorrow for the great catastrophe that removed him from our midst. . . ."

Philippine Independence.—The convention reaffirmed its demand for Philippine Independence.

Porto Rico.—The convention approved plans for refinancing the public debt of Porto Rico and an additional advance of $50,000,000 to finance economic improvements as recommended by the Executive Council. The convention also recommended that the Council and the president of the American Federation of Labor render every assistance possible to the Porto Rican workers to improve their industrial condition, and urged the president of the Federation personally to place before the President of the United States the economic conditions in Porto Rico and urge him to bring about a correction of them by placing into effect the suggestions of the Executive Council.

Prevailing Rate of Wage on Government Buildings.—The convention stressed the importance of the Executive Council's watching the operation of the prevailing rate of wage law for contractors on U. S. public buildings to ascertain if the law should be amended to secure adequate protection for the workers.

Prevailing Wage Rate on Road Construction.—The convention urged the Executive Council to continue its efforts to have the prevailing rate of wage law extended to include road building and similar projects, and, if possible, all work carried on in whole or in part by the United States Government.

Public Accounting.—The convention favored public accounting of business concerns in connection with a policy for co-ordinated economic development.

Public Works for Unemployment Relief.—The convention favored the construction of Federal, State and municipal public works for relief of unemployment.

Quartermaster's Department's Policy of Employing Filipino Seamen.—The convention protested to President Hoover against the policy of the Quartermaster's Department in giving preference to Filipino seamen.

Radio in Education.—The convention recommended the more liberal use of the radio in workers' education and approved the creation of the Advisory Council for the Radio in Education, which arranges for Labor broadcasts.

Railroads.—The convention declared that every industry that renders an essential service to society is entitled to earn a fair return.

Railway Workers.—The convention declared that mergers and consolidation of railroads should include provisions to care for the equities of employes affected by the changes.

Rates of Pay for Gas Burners in Navy Yards.—The convention protested against the reduction of ten cents an hour in rates of pay for "operator, gas plant and gas cutter or burner" in navy yards ordered by the Secretary of the Treasury in September, 1930, as a violation of the agreement entered into with the President of the United States as of November, 1929, and insisted on a restoration of the old rates of pay.

Reducing Length of Work Day by Law.—The convention endorsed the position of the Executive Council in opposition to a proposed amendment to the United States Constitution vesting Congress with power to reduce the number of hours per day for which employment contracts can be lawfully made.

Registration of Voters.—The convention called upon city central bodies to endeavor to secure the registration of all qualified voters in an effort to reduce the number who fail to vote, now estimated at fifteen million.

Representation of Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries in St. Louis in A. F. of L. Conventions.—The convention decided to limit representation to a National Women's Council and suggested that one be formed.

Sales Tax.—The convention opposed the sales tax as an attempt to place an additional burden on those least able to bear it.

Samuel Gompers Memorial.—The convention recommended that the dedication of the Memorial be made on occasion in which all trade union organizations may participate in putting before the world what organized labor has done in the promotion of the status of the worker and in the progress of society under the leadership of Samuel Gompers.

Saturday Half-Holiday for Panama Canal Employes.—The convention instructed the officers of the American Federation of Labor to endeavor to secure legislation extending the Saturday half-holiday, or shorter work week to the employes of the Panama Canal on the Isthmus of Panama.

Shell Oil Company.—The convention instructed its officers to do all in their power to settle a controversy between the Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America and the International Oil and Gas Workers' Union of California relative to the fairness of the Shell Oil Company to organized labor.

Shorter Work Week for Government Employes.—The convention commended the A. F. of L. Executive Council for its service in securing the shorter work week for 600,000 employes of the Federal Government and the District of Columbia.

Shorter Work Day for Seamen.—The convention urged the enactment of legislation providing for three watches for the sailors on vessels of 500 tons or more.

Smuggling Immigrant Seamen Into the United States.—The convention requested the Executive Council to continue during the coming session of Congress its work in favor of legislation to prevent the smuggling of immigrant seamen into the United States and condemned the filibustering in the last Congress which prevented enactment of the seamen's bill designed to stop the practice.

State Federations of Labor and Central Bodies.—The convention urged that the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be requested to include a provision in their constitutions which shall provide that local unions shall be directed to affiliate with the various State and central bodies in their localities.

Taxation.—The convention declared that "taxation should be aimed at acquired wealth and not at the consuming power of the nation's wage earners."

Unemployment Among Teachers.—The convention declared that immediate steps be taken to absorb unemployed teachers into school systems by making room for regular appointments through reducing the number of children in classes to a maximum of thirty children to a class.

Unemployment Insurance.—The convention declared that "compulsory unemployment insurance legislation such as is now in effect in Great Britain and Germany would be unsuited to our economic and political requirements here and unsatisfactory to American working men and women." The convention emphasized the distinction between this proposal and the subject of the immediate need of relief in the widespread distress resulting from unemployment to secure which the American Federation of Labor and affiliated organizations will bend all of their energies.

Unemployment Reserves.—The convention opposed unemployment reserves.

Unemployment Relief.—The convention declared that adequate financial relief for the support of the unemployed should be supplied by private and public funds as part of the A. F. of L.'s emergency unemployment relief program.

Unemployment Statistics.—The convention urged a wide extension of unemployment statistics compiled by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Union Label.—The convention recommended a wide extension of the purchase of union-label goods and urged an increase in propaganda work to bring to the attention of the public the assistance rendered in keeping up good living standards for the workers by insisting on union-made articles.

Visual Instruction in Workers' Education.—The convention approved the pioneer work in visual instruction inaugurated by certain New England locals of the International Union of Operating Engineers.

Volstead Act.—The convention demanded the amendment of the Volstead Act so as to permit the manufacture and distribution of beer containing 2.75 per cent of alcohol by weight.

Vocational and Continuation Schools.—The convention reaffirmed its support of vocational and continuation schools and urged the members of trade unions to support the work of the schools locally and nationally.

Vocational Counsel and Retraining.—The convention favored the extension of vocational counsel and retraining in connection with a policy of co-ordinated economic development.

Wages.—The convention urged the maintenance of wages in connection with the A. F. of L.'s emergency unemployment program.

Wages.—The convention favored larger wages to balance increased production in connection with a policy of co-ordinated economic development.

Wages for Village Letter Carriers.—The convention recommended that the Executive Council support legislation in the next Congress to secure a wage increase for village letter carriers.

Wages of Government Employes.—The convention expressed gratification over the action of the Executive Council in securing wage increases for immigration inspectors and customs service employes.

Week-End Conferences (Workers' Education).—The convention approved the week-end conferences initiated some years ago by the Workers Education Bureau.

World Peace.—The convention recommended that the Executive Council give attention to the study of methods of promoting world peace.

Workers' Education Bureau.—The convention commended the work of the Bureau "on the range and variety of its activities during the past year."

Work Time.—The convention favored a reduction in work time corresponding with increased productivity of labor in connection with a policy of co-ordinated economic development.

Workmen's Compensation.—The convention instructed the officers of the A. F. of L. to urge upon Congress amendments to the U. S. Compensation Law to provide compensation where physical condition necessitates change of employment at lesser wages and to provide for compensation where rehabilitation is found necessary and that such rehabilitation be provided.

Workers with Dependents.—The convention urged that employers should give preference to workers with dependents as part of the A. F. of L.'s emergency unemployment relief plan.

"Yellow Dog" Contracts.—The convention reaffirmed its opposition to "yellow dog" contracts.

Young Workers.—The convention urged that young persons should be kept in school as part of the A. F. of L.'s emergency unemployment relief program.

Government Control of Coal Industry Urged AFL Convention

Federal legislation classifying coal as a public utility and creating a Federal Coal Commission to regulate the industry on the basis of its interstate characteristics was recommended by the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The convention's action was based on the report of the Executive Council of the Federation.

A bill embodying this principle prepared by the United Mine Workers of America is endorsed by the Council.

"The whole scheme of the bill," the Council said, "is to end ruthless, cut-throat competition, the wasting of our natural resources, and the wanton depletion of our special purpose coals, which, when exhausted by unnecessary and unwarranted use, for steam power production, will seriously cripple our future by-product, steel, foundry, dye and various other manufacturing enterprises.

"The benefits to be derived by the miners after the bill's passage will still be a matter of conference and bargaining through the various provisions of the measure which nullify the yellow dog contract and remove the coal companies from their buttressed positions behind the protective provisions of Federal and State injunctions. Its enactment will enable the mine workers to exercise their constitutional rights of free speech and assembly and their inherent right to affiliate with a trade union for the mutual betterment of all employed in bituminous coal mining.

"The Executive Council has kept closely in touch with all the developments which have taken place in the bituminous coal industry, and has given profound consideration to its difficult problems and to the numerous remedies which have been proposed, looking to a solution. We are convinced that the primary requirements necessary to the stabilization of the bituminous coal industry are a thorough and complete organization of the men employed in the industry, the establishment of contractual relations between employers and employes through the process of collective bargaining, and the adoption of a just, equitable and fair wage scale which will in operation provide for a universal labor cost in coal production.

"The Executive Council expresses its great disappointment over the failure of the President of the United States to call a conference of representative miners and operators for the purpose of giving national consideration to the economic, social and industrial problems which affect the bituminous coal industry."

BANKERS CONDEMNED FOR WAGE CUT POLICY

The action of bankers in demanding wage reductions to parallel price declines is emphatically condemned by the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor on the basis of the report of the Executive Council of the Federation to the convention.

"Bankers have argued that the decline in the costs of living meant that a wage cut would not lower standards of living," the report said:

"Their understanding of the situation was based upon a fundamental hypothesis that Labor should be kept within certain definite limits that would keep it always dependent—a modern version of the master and servant philosophy that has curbed Labor's efforts and ambitions for progress.

"Labor believes that it has a right to something more than its present share in returns on the output of industries—that it is a partner in production and should have status accordingly.

"Labor also points to the fact that wages constitute a very large portion of the buying power upon which retail sales depend to form a market for our products.

"Wages are not just the price of Labor in the market governed by the law of supply and demand. They are advance credit paid in advance of the product which the worker helped to create. Higher wages are necessary to maintain an economic machine geared to high production.

"Labor further points out that wage rates and labor costs are not the same thing and that high wage rates usually resulted in low labor costs per unit production.

"Furthermore, the maintenance of wage rates is a dynamic factor in sustaining our economic machine and in supporting confidence. The sturdy common sense of American wage-earners has been one of the most constructive stabilizing forces in this business depression. To cut his already inadequate wages in addition to reducing him to part time work would be a most sorry expression of appreciation."

U. S. JOB SERVICE REACHES ALL STATES

The Employment Service of the U. S. Department of Labor was given the support of the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor, on the basis of the annual report of the Executive Council.

The last Congress appropriated around $500,000 to build up the Service, and Secretary of Labor Doak appointed John R. Alpine, a former member of the Executive Council, to develop it into a nation-wide employment system. There are now employment agencies with subordinate branches in every State.

The Executive Council expressed the opinion "that this action will mark the beginning of the organization and establishment of a national employment system which will be serviceable and helpful in a most satisfactory way to every State and to every community. We are firmly of the opinion that the government should render service of this kind and that all help possible should be extended to the unemployed free of cost to secure employment and to avail themselves of every opportunity to secure profitable and satisfactory employment.

"We urge national and international unions, State Federations of Labor and city central bodies to avail themselves of every opportunity presented by the national Employment Service to secure work for the unemployed, and to co-operate in every possible way with the United States Employment Service system and with the State employment agencies created by this national employment organization under the direction of the Department of Labor."

A. F. OF L. SUPPORTS VOLSTEAD ACT CHANGE

Modification of the Volstead Act in the interest of real temperance was urged by the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

"We are endeavoring," the Executive Council said in its annual report, "to carry into effect instructions given by several conventions of the American Federation of Labor regarding the modification of the Volstead Act so as to provide for the manufacture, sale and distribution of beer containing 2.75 per cent of alcohol by weight.

LABOR APPROVES INHERITANCE TAX

The extension of inheritance and estate tax laws and reenactment of the gift tax were demanded by the convention of the American Federation of Labor, in accordance with the recommendation of the Executive Council of the Federation. In support of its action the convention declared that "taxation should be aimed at acquired wealth and not at the consuming power of the Nation's wage earners."

LABOR CONDEMNS FIXING WORK-DAY LENGTH BY LAW

Fixing the length of the work day by law was condemned by the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The matter was brought to the attention of the convention by the report of the Executive Council of the Federation.

"A proposed amendment," the report stated, "to the Constitution of the United States to permit Congress to reduce the daily period of time for which contracts of employment may be lawfully made was submitted in the House. The amendment proposes:

> Article XX—To promote the general welfare, the Congress shall have power to reduce the number of hours of service per day for which contracts of employment may be lawfully made.

"Congress has no power at this time to fix the hours of labor, wages, or prices in private employment. The proposed amendment would permit Congress to reduce but not increase the hours in a day's work.

"The Executive Council believes that this is a dangerous proposal. The American Federation of Labor always opposed the fixing of hours or wages by law. In this case only the fixing of hours is intended and then it is left to the employes and the employers, the same as now, to argue over wages. It should be opposed."

The convention declared that the amendment is "fraught with danger," and expressed its unqualified disapproval of the proposal.

U. S. PENAL INSTITUTIONS BUILT BY FREE LABOR

All Federal penal institutions authorized by the last Congress are being constructed by free labor, according to information presented to the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor by the Executive Council.

"In the 71st Congress," the Council said, "provisions were made for the erection of a Federal prison, several jails and a reformatory. All of these buildings are to be constructed by free labor. A union contractor has the contract for the Federal prison to be erected at Lewisburg, Pa., at a cost of $3,800,000.

"For many years the American Federation of Labor has endeavored to eliminate as far as possible the competition of convict labor products with those produced by free labor. Until within the last two years our efforts were confined almost entirely to the production of goods, wares, merchandise and coal.

"The unusual demand for new penitentiary buildings or additions during the past two years has brought convict labor in competition with the building trades. As said before, so far as the Federal Government is concerned none of the new penal institutions will be built by convicts nor will they have anything whatever to do with the work in any capacity.

"All work done by Federal prisoners is exclusively for the Government. Nothing is sold on the open market or sold to or exchanged with any State.

"The aim of the American Federation of Labor has been to minimize the competition of convict labor so that employers of free labor will not be driven out of business.

"As soon as Congress meets a bill will be introduced to prohibit the sale or exchange of convict made goods from any of the several States of the United States in competition with goods produced by free labor in the District of Columbia."

GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND TOTALS $123 430

The Samuel Gompers Memorial Fund now amounts to $123,430.16, according to the report of Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, to the 1931 convention. The fund was authorized by the 1925 convention on the recommendation of the Executive Council.

The design for the memorial as prepared by Robert Aitkin, New York sculptor, has been approved by the Executive Council, the Samuel Gompers Memorial Committee, consisting of Frank Morrison, Frank Duffy, Daniel J. Tobin, Matthew Woll and James Wilson, and the National Fine Arts Commission.

The monument will occupy the triangular site contributed by the United States Congress in Washington on Massachusetts Avenue between Tenth and Eleventh Streets.

The sculptor expects to have the memorial completed by the end of the present year.

Noted Visitors Bring Messages of Cheer to A. F. of L. Convention

DAVIS OPPOSES JOBLESS INSURANCE

Favors Creating Work with Wealth Reserves Plus Job Assurance

Unemployment and methods to relieve it were the main subjects discussed by James J. Davis, United States Senator from Pennsylvania and Secretary of Labor from 1921 to 1930, in his address before the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green introduced him as having come to the United States an immigrant boy, and carving his way upward to a seat in the cabinet of the President of the United States and then to the United States Senate, always with his trade union card in his pocket.

Machine Production and Unemployment

"Of the many problems confronting the people of the world today," Senator Davis said, "the most pressing one is finding profitable and continuous employment for those who are ready, willing and able to work."

He attributed unemployment to the great enlargement of our plant capacity during the World War and the deluge of labor-displacing machinery which the owners and managers of industry installed after the war.

"Modern machinery has entered every line of industry," Senator Davis said, "and right now, in six months we can produce our needs for a year. Agriculture has developed with such rapidity that we now produce more than we need. Labor-saving farm machinery has also supplanted the laborer, and left in his place the iron farmer who plows, harrows, seeds and harvests foodstuffs which burst our granaries and barns."

He declared that since the World War employers have replaced two million workers with machinery.

Opposes Unemployment Insurance

Senator Davis said that after an examination of unemployment insurance in European countries he had reached the conclusion that it was not a proper remedy for unemployment in the United States. He declared that in Great Britain and Germany it is "premium on indolence."

He charged that in a number of European countries unnecessary workers are kept on the government pay roll at low wages because if they were dismissed they would become an expense to the alrady overburdened jobless insurance funds.

Taxation to Redistribute Wealth

"The various resulting schemes to support the unemployed," he said, "were based upon an admitted unequal and inequitable distribution of the wealth created by labor during normal and prosperous times. Admittedly there have been unequal and, in many instances, a grossly inequitable and unfair distribution of wealth. The taxing power has been deliberately and intentionally called upon to force a redistribution of this uneven and unjust distribution of the wealth created in the past." He deplored this process because "it is drawing upon the stored wealth of the countries involved to cover current living expenses."

Create Work with Wealth Reserves

Instead of compulsory unemployment insurance, Senator Davis urged the proper use of national reserve wealth and some sort of a work assurance plan to operate when there is a surplus of labor.

On the use of national reserve wealth he said:

"The real situation, as I see it, is this: Are we wise enough, are we far-sighted enough, to use our national reserve wealth while we still have it to end unemployment, to create employment opportunities, and to promote sound economic projects which will tend to revive our economic activities, or shall we pursue a cheese-nibbling policy which would continue until our national reserve wealth will have been totally squandered?"

Work Assurance to Avoid Dole

"Management, men and money," he continued, "should get together and work out on a mutual basis some plan to provide for the worker when work is slack. If that is not done the Government will probably do it, and maybe that will be something in the order of the dole, which we do not want. I have faith sufficient in the wisdom, the judgment and the patriotism of the leaders of industry, both employers and employes, that cooperatively they will avoid the dole and will work out a practical plan that will recognize the right of every person, ready and willing to work, to a dependable income.

"When worker and employer have agreed to an employment assurance plan, the fair way would seem to be to have all interested parties share in the responsibility of management, as well as the benefits."

Wage Cuts Condemned

Senator Davis also deprecated wage cuts. They prolong the depression by reducing the buying power of the workers, he said, "and are as much a fallacy towards the solution of our economic problem as the dole."

He favored as much government construction as possible, but by itself it was not a cure for unemployment because it would not give permanent jobs.

The Senator also urged the elimination of wild financing, stock juggling, top-heavy finance and over-capitalization as necessary elements in the program to restore and maintain normal business conditions. He believed that to accomplish this "we must turn back to the golden rule and set aside the law of the jungle."

He favored the continuance of our present immigration restriction laws and believed that the prevailing rate of wages law, which he sponsored while Secretary of Labor, would be of considerable benefit in securing better wages on public work.

BANKS AND LABOR

We have seen the individual employer replaced by the corporation, the corporation in turn influenced through interlocking directorates with other corporations, and now we often have the banks sitting in with a definite voice in the management policy, including a definite and final voice in the labor policy.—From a statement by the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Visiting Speakers Feature Parley

The speeches of prominent people friendly to the workers are interesting features of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

The 1931 convention was fortunate in the sympathetic tone and breadth of thought which characterized the remarks of its guests.

The speakers were:

Hon. James J. Davis, United States Senator from Pennsylvania.

Hon. Ralph A. Horr, Member of Congress from Washington.

Edward F. Henning, former Assistant Secretary of Labor.

Robert Harlin, Mayor of Seattle, Wash.

A. B. Swales, a member of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress.

Spencer Miller, Jr., secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau of America.

Edward Keating, editor of Labor.

Peter Manniche, a representative of the International Peoples College, of Elsimore, Denmark.

The messages presented by visiting speakers to Organized Labor's Parliament are summarized on this page.

HENNING PAYS TRIBUTE TO ORGANIZED LABOR

Edward F. Henning, formerly Assistant Secretary of Labor in charge of the Bureau of Immigration, later a Federal judge in California, and now associated with industrial matters connected with the motion picture industry, was one of the visiting speakers at the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

He said that during his administration big business and public sentiment were opposed to immigration restriction, but that the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion contributed valuable assistance in making the restriction laws effective.

Although he was a graduate of our public school system and universities, he was free to admit that for "information on the practical hard side of life" his university education amounted to nothing compared with the knowledge he had gained from his associations with Jim Davis, Terrence V. Powderly, Samuel Gompers and William Green.

"I confess to you frankly," he said, "that not one of you reads more carefully the pronouncements which emanate from time to time from the Executive Council of this organization than I do. I know of nothing in America, no single unit, where sounder economic principles are adopted and pronounced than in the American Federation of Labor.

"I am proud of my association with you. Even though I left the Government service, I did not sever my membership with my union. I still keep it up. I want to keep up my contact with you.

"I have learned in the last year and a half, down in New York, where the financial situation has been so bothersome, the economic world upside down, not to go to the bankers any more for a true analysis of the situation.

"I go to Joe Weber, of the American Federation of Musicians, and Bill Canavan, of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes, and get from either a much better analysis, a more accurate picture of the financial situation than I can get from any Wall Street banker."

HORR DEMANDS RIGHT TO WORK AND LESS HOURS

The right of every person to a job, and shorter hours and construction of public works for unemployment relief were demanded by Ralph A. Horr, Member of Congress from the State of Washington, in an address to the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

In presenting Mr. Horr to the convention, President Green said "he has manifested a very sympathetic attitude towards the aims and purposes of organized labor."

Mr. Horr criticized existing economic conditions as oppressive of the poor and expressed the belief that the Volstead Act should be modified or repealed.

Legal Right to a Job

He insisted that every person has the moral right to an opportunity to work and should have the legal right.

"It is within the province of the Government," he said, "to see to it that provisions are made that those who desire to earn a living have this opportunity granted and given to them. It is a right that belongs to every American citizen. Not only you, but every citizen of the United States has the right to make a demand on your government to furnish means for your employment.

"I know not how or where this means is going to be concentrated, but industry tells us that government must not go into business. All I can say to industry is that if government cannot go into your business, then you must take care of your own business and keep out of the Government's business."

Public Works for Job Relief

"When we are in a condition as we are today, with our granaries overflowing with the products of the field and our shelves bulging with manufactured products and our banks overflowing with money, more than when prosperity was with us, I say if industry does not loosen the purse strings and furnish employment to those who desire it, there is only one alternative that I know of, and that is for the government to take the initiative and, through public work and public expenditures, grant to our people the right that belongs to every American citizen, and that is the right to make a living in this free country of ours.

Wage Cuts Condemned

"You can't do this, in my opinion, by the curtailment or the cutting of wages.

"They call it over-production. In my opinion it is under-consumption, and if it is under-consumption you cannot expect our people to become a purchasing body if you reduce the wages and then expect them to go out and buy those products.

Shorter Hours of Labor

"In my opinion, too, you are perfectly sound in your thoughts as to the shorter work week and the shorter hours per day.

"To me it is just a matter of mathematical calculation.

"If we have a certain amount of labor to be done in our country and we have a certain definite number of men and women to do that work, it seems to me the only logical way of determining the number of days per week and the hours per day is to divide the amount of work by the number of people available to do that work.

"That in itself, whether we like it or not, whether it is something that we are looking forward to, is an economic necessity, and the shorter day week and the shorter hour day is just as inevitable as the rising and the setting of the sun."

Congressman Horr gave an account of the alleged wholesale violations of the prohibition law, claimed it had increased the number of juvenile delinquents, and declared that the Volstead Act should be modified or repealed.

AFL Weekly News Service Indorsed; Labor Press Should be Strengthened

"The American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service is published by the American Federation of Labor to assist the labor press in promoting the cause of trade unionism," declared the 1931 convention of the A. F. of L. "In this service it is invaluable. It gives an excellent up-to-date news service. It helps to keep the labor press clean and sound."

The convention recommended "the continuation of the Weekly News Service on established lines as an effective agency for a better labor press consecrated to the growth of the labor movement."

The importance of the labor press to the cause of the workers and the valuable assistance given the labor papers by the A. F. of L. Weekly News Service were emphasized in the annual report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the convention.

"The labor papers constitute a chain of sentinels on guard for the cause of mankind," the Council said. "They are an important adjunct of the organized labor movement in all branches of its activities. The Weekly News Service is published by the American Federation of Labor to assist the labor press in this work.

"Employers and the public frequently forget that wage-earners and salary-earners constitute by far the largest economic group and that, therefore, their welfare expressed in wages and hours contribute very largely to the prosperity of the entire community. The local labor papers perform the valuable function of continually emphasizing this fact. They also are a very useful medium for persistently presenting the views of trade unions on industrial problems whose proper solution is of the highest interest to Labor.

"The influence of the local labor press is considerably enhanced by bringing to local labor unions and national and international unions labor news and information which often assist in shaping and settling local labor policies.

"Few labor papers have the equipment or resources to secure material of this character. The material is prepared with regard for the established policies and requirement of the entire labor movement. Responsibility for supplying this information and publicity is a proper and necessary function of the American Federation of Labor. To perform this function the Federation maintains the Weekly News Service and furnishes it to the labor press without charge. All possible support should be given to strengthen the labor press. In this work the Weekly News Service performs an increasingly valuable function.

"The labor papers should be aided to give the best measure of service to the labor movement," the report concluded.

"We appreciate the importance of continuing the Weekly News Service as an effective agency in this direction. Everything that adds to the strength and circulation of the labor press contributes to the strength and power of the labor movement to advance the interests of all working people. It is also an acknowledgment of the fine work performed by the labor press, whose editors too frequently serve the cause of Labor without the inducement of adequate financial reward."

The 1910 convention of the American Federation of Labor authorized the publication of the Weekly News Service. The Executive Council began the publication in April, 1911.

AFL CONVENTION OPPOSES OLEOMARGARINE TAX

A tax on oleomargarine is inimical to the interests of the workers and legislation imposing it was opposed by organized Labor in the last session of Congress, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor declared in its report to the 1931 convention of the Federation at Vancouver, B. C.

"Bills to tax oleomargarine 10 cents a pound were introduced in both Houses of Congress," the report said. "They were opposed by the American Federation of Labor on the ground that they would increase the cost of living of those who had suffered from it the most. It has been repeatedly demonstrated by those who buy oleomargarine that they do it because they have not the funds to purchase butter.

"The American Federation of Labor believes that while there are millions of people out of work and the suffering is so intense the addition of 10 cents per pound to the cost of a product, which the poor must buy, is reprehensible. This has been the attitude of the American Federation of Labor for many years.

"In 1910 complaint was made to the American Federation of Labor convention that the 10-cents tax per pound on oleomargarine artificially colored would have to be paid mainly by impoverished people, who are not able to protect themselves.

"The Executive Council opposed penalizing a family's poverty; therefore, we objected to the 10 cents per pound tax."

The convention of the Federation recommended that the Executive Council "watch this proposal should the issue be again raised in the next Congress."

Workers' Education in the United States is Progressing, Miller Says

The workers' education movement in the United States has contributed considerable to a proper understanding of the business depression, according to the annual survey of the movement given to the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor by Spencer Miller, Jr., secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau of America.

"It is literally true to say," Mr. Miller declared, "that thousands of wage earners in every large industrial section of the country have either directly through our study groups, week-end conferences, labor institutes, summer schools, labor chautauquas, or our educational service come to a clearer realization both to the nature of the crisis and the possible roads to recovery.

Facts Emphasized

"Nor need I repeat that our main concern has been to bring facts to the attention of workers rather than to formulate any plan or remedies. Our motto has been 'give the workers the facts, trust their own judgment for a sound solution.'

"No less an authority than the great Abraham Lincoln once stated that 'the American people wobble a lot on all public questions, but they finally wobble right.' We accept this diagnosis. We have sought to aid workers through a knowledge of the facts in the process of wobbling right.

New Jersey Labor Institute

As an example of the progress of workers' education Mr. Miller cited the establishment of a five-day Labor Institute at the New Jersey State University at Rutgers under the joint sponsorship of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, the State University, and the Workers Education Bureau. The economics department of the University made a six-months survey of the unemployment situation for the use of the Institute, which was attended by more than 125 trade unionists.

Rocky Mountain Fuel Company

Mr. Miller said the new industrial relations of the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company under the administration of Miss Josephine Roche are an example of the constructive side of workers education.

New Industrial Relations

Up to 1928 the company had a non-union policy emphasized by machine guns and similar evidences of employer violence. When Miss Roche inherited a large interest in the company at the death of her father she changed the labor policy by recognizing the union and making contract with the United Mine Workers which established a unique form of union-management cooperation.

From the signing of the agreement the miners regarded themselves as essential partners in the company's business and engaged in vigorous sales campaigns to offset the price cutting policy resorted to by anti-union coal companies. The Workers Education movement in Colorado, under the guidance of John Lawson, dean of the Labor College in Denver, assisted in carrying forward the union-management plan.

Output Increases, Cost Falls

"During the entire period of the depression," Mr. Miller said, "with a falling off in the demand for coal, it has been possible for the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company to reduce the cost of production of coal below that of any of the non-union mines by increasing the production per man of nearly two tons over the average, to actually increase the basic wage to an average of $8 a day, to increase the number of workers employed through a rotating of work rather than laying men off, and reduce substantially the number of mining accidents.

"Within the last thirty days the 600 miners of this company have actually offered to defer payment of 50 per cent of their wages for a period of three months to meet the ruthless price-slashing and wage-cutting policy of the other coal companies. Such has been the devotion of men and the morale of the company!"

Visual Lectures of Engineers' Union

Mr. Miller also spoke highly of the visual lectures sponsored by the certain New England locals of the International Union of Operating Engineers. The lectures gave technical information on the design, construction and handling of boilers. The results were increased interest in the work of the union and added inducements for new men to become members.

Workers Education by Radio

He said he was very favorably impressed with the possibilities of workers education over the radio. The American Association for Adult Education had set up a National Council of the Radio in Education. "The Council invited the Workers Education Bureau to cooperate in the selection of a labor committee "that would aid in the preparation of material and assume responsibility for a regular broadcast over a nation-wide hook-up at weekly intervals for the next year or more." He understood the lectures would begin before the end of the year.

Five-Day Week Means Leisure

Then advantages which the five-day week would give to workers' education were stressed by Mr. Miller. "It would add 25,000,000 leisure hours each working day to the life of the gainfully employed," he said.

Local Educational Committees

Among suggestions for the extension of workers' education along practical lines Mr. Miller urged that every central labor body should set up an educational committee to study all aspects of the local economic situation as it affected the workers, including work opportunities, changes in technological processes, and vocational schools to retrain workers for new crafts.

Labor Institutes

He also stressed the importance of each State Federation of Labor using its education committee to establish contacts with State universities to secure the use of their educational plants for labor institutes and Summer conferences.

In closing he emphasized the importance of national economic planning with adequate labor representation.

Mr. Miller preceded his survey of workers' education with an analysis of the world economic crisis.

UNEMPLOYED OUR GREAT PROBLEM, HARLIN SAYS

Robert Harlin, the Labor Mayor of Seattle, Wash., was an interesting speaker at the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green introduced him as "a coal miner, a man who served the international organization of the United Mine Workers of America for many years, and one who has risen to the proud distinction of serving as chief executive of one of the greatest cities in the United States."

Hungry Must Be Fed

"My chief problem," said Mayor Harlin, "is the great problem that confronts this organization and the world—the problem of unemployment in our cities.

"I imagine that we are better off than most cities of like size in the country, but we have an acute problem. I know we can't solve it locally, we can only palliate and alleviate the condition. We are going to endeavor to see, first, if it is humanly possible, that no good citizen of our city, no woman or child goes hungry this Winter. We are going to see, secondly, that no effort is successful to destroy the basic wage structure of our city.

Tragedy of the Jobless

"The hardest thing I have to do is to meet many of my good citizens, just as good as you or I, who feel that if they could only get to meet Bobbie Harlin, the mayor, he could solve their problems and find something for them to do.

"How meaningless words often are in the face of a condition where the bread winner is out of employment and his dependents looking to him for aid and sustenance.

"Every other problem of my city, of this city, of every city of this and every nation pales into insignificance compared to the problem of the good, honest citizen who has no employment and no means of sustenance for himself and family.

More Equitable Wealth Distribution

"I believe in the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor," Mayor Harlin went on. "I think it is the only sound philosophy that has been propounded, when it declares that the laboring people, whose genius have produced such great wealth—and today there is more wealth in America, in money, in the banks, in commodities in the markets, than ever existed in any nation since the dawn of history, produced by the genius of American labor, plus the machines—the problem is essentially that of more equitable distribution of the wealth of this nation, so that the worker can buy back that which he produces."

LABOR SECURES PENSIONS FOR CANAL ZONE WORKERS

The influence of the trade union movement was of assistance during the last session of Congress in securing pension legislation for the employes of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company who are citizens of the United States, according to the report made by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the 1931 convention of the Federation at Vancouver, B. C.

"All employes," the report said, "to whom the Act applies, after they have reached the age of 62 years and rendered at least 15 years of service on the Isthmus of Panama, shall be automatically retired on the annuity provided for in the law.

"The law also provides for disability retirement and involuntary separation from the service. The employes affected have unanimously endorsed the law."

The convention of the Federation commended the Executive Council for "having been helpful in securing this humane legislation, so important to the workers directly affected."

MANNICHE DESCRIBES INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE

Peter Manniche, representing the International People's College, of Elsinore, Denmark, told the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor about the new educational methods applied by that institution.

"The International People's College," Mr. Manniche said, "was the first international college established with a view of creating human relationships between students from different countries." It began in a very small way ten years ago, but now has 1,300 students for its winter couses and 1,200 for its vacation courses.

Personal Student-Teacher Contacts

"The college," Mr. Manniche explained, follows the traditions of the famous Danish folk high schools. These traditions are personal in method in so far as they emphasize the personal relationships between the students and the teacher, and the teacher with the student. The teachers get together with the students and eat with them, and are on equal terms. They adapt themselves to the individual needs of the students.

No Examinations or Degrees

"They have no examinations, no degrees, they try to meet the students where they stand and answer the questions of the students. The college is ethical in its purpose, educating, not only for a national, but for an international cooperative commonwealth.

Student League of Nations

"The student body forms in itself a little league of nations and in their fellowship each nation has a possibility of contributing characteristics of national value, the English their practical sense and straight-forwardness, the Germans their rich musical gifts and their industry, the Swedes their chivalry, the Danes their intensity.

Education More Than Knowledge

"Education is not alone that we get more knowledge, it is not that we widen our horizon, it is not that we establish friendship by the strongest of all ties—to work for a common cause and a common ideal—education is all that, but it is more."

"In the student international college," he added, "the farmer and the workman, the teacher and the university student meet on equal ground, and we attempt to establish fellowship and harmony between these different elements. We must develop some of those personal qualifications for which the new world has use, a world where there is co-operation and friendship."

LABOR'S POLITICAL POWER EMPHASIZED BY KEATING

Edward Keating, editor of Labor, the weekly paper owned by the associated standard recognized railroad labor organizations, told the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Congress of the United States has been developed into the "most liberal legislative body in the world by the non-partisan policy of the American labor movement."

Thirty-five Labor Senators Elected

He declared that the time had long since passed when the labor movement contented itself with passing resolutions endorsing candidates for public office. Now it does something to elect them. He said that beginning with 1928, thirty-five out of forty-two candidates for the United States Senate endorsed by the railroad labor organizations and the American Federation of Labor had been elected.

Labor's Political Power

"The labor movement today," he said, "is facing a great crisis. You have two weapons with which to meet that crisis. One, and the most important one, is your economic weapon, the union. There is no substitute for the union. That comes first. The second is your political power."

He urged that organized labor make supreme use of its political power with Congress to secure legislation to relieve the workers from the distressing conditions to which they are subjected by the business depression.

Inequality of Income

He said there are 521,000 employes engaged in the movement of the trains on our transportation systems, and that according to Government figures there are 504 individuals in the United States whose combined annual income exceeded the combined income of the 521,000 railway workers. He suggested the wealth of the 504 would be a admirable body on which to deposit more of the burden of taxation.

Five-Day Week

He declared Labor should insist that Congress enact the five-day week for its 600,000 employes and put a provision in every Government contract securing fair conditions and proper wages for Labor.

Right to Work

"We should firmly take our stand," he said, "on the proposition that every American able and willing to work should either be given an opportunity to work or should be given the means to sustain life.

"So far as I am concerned, I want to demand for my fellow citizens the inalienable right to work, and if industry denies them that right, then I insist that industry shall be taxed to put up the money to sustain them."

SWALES URGES SHORTER HOURS AND HIGHER WAGES

A. B. Swales, fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress to the 1931 Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, was a visitor at the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor. He was also a fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress to the 1924 and 1930 conventions of the Federation.

Although he was not a fraternal delegate, President Green asked him to speak to the convention.

He paid a tribute to President Green's close description of the economic situation in his opening speech to the convention. "As a socialist as well as a trades unionist," he said, "I can accept his analysis of what is taking place."

Machinery Causes Depression

He said that trade depressions are coming more frequently in England than hitherto.

Formerly they came every seven years, then every five years. The last one struck the British worker in 1921 and had remained to curse them ever since. He attributed the depression largely to the introduction of labor-displacing machinery.

Depressions Inevitable Under Capitalism

"We will always have these depressions in trade," he said, "and you will have them. They are inevitable as long as you have your capitalistic system of society. So long as you have capitalism depending upon a surplus of labor you will always have unemployment problems."

$50,000,000 Paid in Benefits

He declared that the continuous depression of the last ten years had been a great strain on the British unions.

"My own organization," he said, "in order to meet the claims and attend to the wants of our members, during the last ten years has spent no less than 10,000,000 pounds, or $50,000,000, to assist our people inside the engineers' industry, what you call the machinists.

Shorten Hours, Raise Wages

"There are still very serious problems to be met. I think we shall win through. I am convinced that whenever the light gleams again the British trade union movement will continue, as it has done for over a hundred years back, the bulwark between the employer, and labor, and we will continue to reduce hours and increase wages.

"If there is one thing necessary to meet the present development of industry, it is that we must at the earliest possible moment have a reduction in the hours of labor in order to absorb some of the unemployed. We are bending all our powers and energies in the British trade union movement to do that."

LABOR ADOPTS 9-POINT JOBLESS RELIEF PLAN

(Continued from Page One)

all but 1,000,000 of the unemployed would be given work." The Council therefore declares that it is the duty of every employer to give work to additional employes at least part of the time. To adjust the number of extra workers to both small and large concerns, the Council recommends that "industries and employers should be given quotas of jobs to be furnished, according to their ability to provide work. The allocation of these quotas should be the task of a central board, representing the government and all industrial groups."

Create Public Works Jobs

In the extension of public works, the Council saw a great opportunity for creating work for at least 100,000 jobless during the coming Winter, and urges that an enlarged program of constructive public improvements of lasting benefit to the people should be undertaken. The Council says the public works should include locally the building of schools, creation of parks and playgrounds, construction of libraries, improvement and extension of streets, sewage and water supply systems. National and State projects would include road building; extension of inland waterways, extension and improvement of national parks, reforestation projects, flood control and irrigation.

Employment Agencies

"Efficient employment bureaus," the Council said, "will be necessary to make any of this work providing program possible. Attention should be concentrated on building up the present system of employment bureaus and supplementing it where necessary."

Keep Youth in School

On the question of young workers the Council urged that "every effort be made to keep boys and girls in their teens in school. Not only will their efforts to secure work take jobs from older men and women, but they will find it exceedingly difficult to get work. They will risk wasting their time in demoralizing idleness, where it might be spent in increasing their ability for future work."

Jobs for Workers With Dependents

The Council believed that during the unemployment emergency jobs should preferably be given to workers with dependents to maintain.

Employment of Married Women

The Council expressed its belief that during the unemployment crisis limitations should be placed on the employment of married women. "Married women have continued in their trades and callings even when there was no economic necessity," the Council said. "Heads of families may be jobless while two breadwinners in other families have positions. Unless these married women hold key positions or have an investment in a career for themselves, we believe that in emergencies they should give way to heads of families. Married women whose husbands have permanent positions which carry reasonable incomes should be discriminated against in the hiring of employes, at least until we are well out of this business depression."

Financial Relief Imperative

"Because it is never possible to put any program into universal effect," the Council concluded, "we cannot expect to provide work for all the unemployed. Without question there will be millions this coming Winter who will have to depend on charity to exist. Ample funds should be provided in every community, both from private and municipal sources. These funds should be used to furnish work rather than relief without work wherever possible.

Labor Representation

"The collection and administration of funds for relief purposes is of the utmost importance to Labor, and Labor, with other groups, should be represented on boards responsible for this work."

AFL NOTES FOR SPEAKERS

Notes for Speakers, a monthly pamphlet published by the American Federation of Labor, helps trade unionists to ascertain what information they may obtain from Federation publications, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. said in its report to the 1931 convention of the Federation. "Outstanding articles are summarized and pointed up by the use of key sentences," the Council said. "The publication is widely distributed to officers and active trade unionists."

Notes for Speakers was approved by the convention. "It helps trade unionists to sources of information in Federation publications, and is proving very valuable," the convention declared, and recommended extension of its service.

ABOLISH CHILD LABOR A. F. OF L. DEMANDS

(Continued from Page One)

their State laws so as to raise minimum standards and improve administration of the law."

On the question of low age standards for working children under existing State child labor laws and the necessity for the prompt ratification of the Federal child labor amendment to the Constitution, the Council said:

14-Year-Old Workers

"Two States still allow children under 14 years of age to work in stores and factories; 12 States allow exemptions from child labor laws not limited to outside school hours to children under 14 years of age; 13 States and the District of Columbia fix the minimum work age standard at 14 with no exemptions; 5 States have a minimum standard of 15 years with exemptions not limited to out of school hours in 2 and limited to outside school hours in 3; only 2 States have established 16 years as the minimum and they grant exemptions not limited to outside school hours.

School Attendance Laws

"Twenty-eight States require children to attend school up to the age of 16, while some localities in 15 States require up to 17 or 18. But exemptions and faulty administration cut down even the opportunities for children.

"The experts for child welfare have been urging the need of child labor laws in States prohibiting gainful employment to children under 16 years of age and requiring work certificates for all under 18 years.

"By improving the protection given by child regulatory laws and compulsory school attendance, State federations would effectively prevent minors from taking the jobs of adults in addition to providing better equipped workers for the future.

"We urge State federations of labor in States that have not already ratified the Child Labor Amendment to urge action upon it at the next session of their State legislature.

"Authority to enact Federal legislation is the keystone to effective regulation of child labor."

The Federal Child Labor Amendment has been ratified by the legislatures of Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado Montana and Wisconsin.

Fraternal Delegates Laud A. F. of L. and Explain Own Group Policies

BRITISH AND CANADIAN LABOR PROGRESS TOLD

American Legion Representative And Three A. F. of L. Envoys Are Among Speakers

For many years the international labor relations of the American Federation of Labor have been cemented by the interchange of fraternal delegates with the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain, and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Shortly after the World War fraternal relations were established with the American Legion by an interchange of representatives at the conventions of the two organizations.

At the 1931 convention the following delegates presented the fraternal greetings of their organizations:

Frank Wolstencroft and John Beard, representing the British Trades Union Congress.

Collm McDonald, representing the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Frank N. Brooks, vice commander of the American Legion.

The convention also received the reports from the following fraternal delegates of the American Federation of Labor:

Charles J. Case, fraternal delegate to the 1931 Canadian Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Joseph P. Ryan and Joseph H. Moreschi, fraternal delegates to the 1931 British Trades Union Congress.

George L. Berry, fraternal representative to the 1931 convention of the American Legion.

This page contains a summary of the messages and reports of the fraternal delegates and representatives to the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

CANADIAN TRADES UNION CONGRESS LABOR POLICY

The fraternal greetings of the American Federation of Labor were taken to the 1931 Trades and Labor Congress of Canada by Charles J. Case.

"Quite a lot of times was consumed in dealing with employment, unemployment and under-employment," Mr. Case said in his report to the A. F. of L. convention. "Many resolutions were adopted dealing with legislative matters, railroads, public ownership and control over enterprise, industrial disputes, hours of labor, holidays with pay, trade with Russia, franchise and election acts, minimum wage legislation, mothers' allowances, health and safety, old age pensions and compensation."

Membership Increases

Mr. Case added that despite the under-employment and the long depression the officers' report to the Trades and Labor Congress showed quite an increase in its membership and finances.

"It is also pleasing to me to report," Mr. Case added, "that the One Big Union or dual organization, which has been a curse to the laboring people of the Dominion of Canada, has been reduced in its membership from 52,000 in 1930 to less than 26,000 in 1931."

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.—The cost of administering workmen's compensation by private insurance companies is thirty-eight times as great as it now costs the State of Ohio to administer the workmen's compensation law in that State.—From Statement by the 1931 Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Wolstencroft Describes Labor Conditions in Great Britain

Frank Wolstencroft, general secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers of Great Britain, and John Beard, of the Workers' Union Section of the Transport and General Workers' Union, were the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress to the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Wolstencroft gave an interesting account of the way the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers assists in protecting union standards in other countries.

International Union Agreements

"Our policy, in collaboration with British trade employers," he said, "is not to ask for a tariff against imported joineries, but to refuse to handle any such joinery unless its maker's name appears on our approved list. Before a name goes on the approved list, we stipulate that the conditions of manufacture are satisfactory to the unions concerned in the country of origin. In this way we have been able to assist trade union organizations in American and European countries to bring woodworking factories into line."

Forty-Hour Week

He declared that reduced wages aggravate the evil of unemployment and that shorter working hours should be the slogan of labor in all countries.

"The British Trades Union Congress at Bristol, the first week in September," he said, "declared that forty hours a week should be the slogan for the British trades union movement. If America and England could establish the five-day week, it would be beneficial, not only to the organized movement in the two countries, but to the whole of the organized movement in the world. If Britain and America cannot establish a five-day working week, then there is very little hope of the European countries being able to do so."

Wage Cutting Bad Business Policy

Wolstencroft claimed that ever since the end of the World War British employers had refused to reduce the hours of labor and persisted in their determination to cut wage rates.

"We believe in Britain," he said, "that it is a short-sighted policy to reduce wages, because if wages are reduced the purchasing power of the worker is further reduced. It means that other employes in other industries dependent upon the spending power of the workers are thrown out of employment and the number is considerably added to.

Building Wages Cut $7.80 a Week

"It would be idle to deny that wages have not fallen in Britain since the end of the war, but we can claim that had it not been for the British trade union movement the wages would have fallen a considerable amount lower than they are at the present time.

"As an illustration of how wages have fallen, I will refer to my own trade. In London, the craftsman's rate of wages at the end of the war for all building trade operatives was $25.50 per week. The approximate rate at the present time is $18 per week.

Trade Union Amalgamation

On trade union amalgamation, Wolstencroft said:

"The policy of the British trade union movement for the last two years has been to endeavor to amalgamate unions in any industry where more than one union is catering to the same class of operatives, and we have been very successful, in reducing the number of unions. That policy will be continued until such time as we believe that the number of unions catering to any particular industry is reduced to a size which will help to increase the needs and benefits of those who are in certain industries."

National Agreements

Wolstencroft stressed the importance of the growth of national agreements in place of the old-time local and county agreements. He said the national agreement policy enables the unions to bring the lowest paid districts up to the highest paid districts, even though certain high paid districts have to mark time temporarily.

Labor's Break with Macdonald

Wolstencroft also gave an account of the break of the British Trades Union Congress General Council with Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald over his plan to balance the budget, which resulted in the fall of the Labor Government and the establishment of the National Government.

"We were asked," Wolstencroft said, "to agree in effect to a reduction of 20 per cent in the teachers' wages. We were asked to agree to a reduction in the rate of pay of the policemen. We were asked to agree to a reduction in the rate of pay of the sailors and soldiers and the forces in general.

Unions Not Consulted

"Well, the General Council of the British trade union movement retired, and I think it will be perfectly obvious to every delegate of the American Federation of Labor that whatever may have been the position of the country, as a trade union negotiating Council, we could not agree that any body of men in Britain should automatically have their wages reduced without those who had entered into agreements with them were consulted in the first instance.

"That is the stand that the British Trade Union General Council made. We said that if the wages of teachers or the policemen, or the forces, were to be reduced, then those who negotiated the agreements on behalf of those people should be consulted, and it was up to them and not up to us to determine as to whether they preferred to accept a reduction in wages.

"That is the policy the British trade union movement took, and I say without fear of contradiction that from a trade union point of view, it was the only logical policy we could have taken up at that time."

Old-Age Pensions

He described the British old-age pension system, which provides a pension of $2.50 per week, and closed his speech with an explanation and defense of the British Unemployment Insurance Act.

Unemployment Insurance

"The British workman," Wolstencroft said, "is just as eager and willing to work today as ever he was in the history of Britain, and I am prepared to give the lie direct to any person who says that the Unemployment Insurance Act has made the British workman prefer to play and receive unemployment insurance, rather than obtain employment.

Wage Cutters Oppose Insurance

"I also want to inform you that those who are opposed to unemployment insurance are the people who want to increase the working hours and reduce the wages of the workers.

"Therefore, it should be obvious to all that those people who would increase our hours and reduce our wages are no friends of the organized labor movement in Great Britain, and their comments on the Unemployment Insurance Act should be taken for the value they are worth."

After giving a detailed account of the administration of the Unemployment Insurance Act, Wolstencroft declared that "we in Britain are satisfied that it is essential that the unemployment insurance act should continue to operate.

Insurance Necessary for British Labor

Not for one moment would we say that that scheme should operate in America or in any other country in the world.

"We say that each country itself must determine as to the ways and means in which it is prepared to help the unemployed.

"All that we ask in Britain is that we be allowed to conduct our own business in our own way, and if we believe unemployment insurance is the best method of dealing with unemployment in Britain, then we ought to be allowed to continue without the criticisms of those from outside of our country whose criticisms in the main are based upon absolute ignorance as to the needs of our people and the administration of the Unemployment Insurance Act.

Work or Maintenance for Labor

"Briefly, the British trade union view is that unemployment is a national and international problem resulting from the industrial system under which we live.

"The workers are not the authors of that system, but its victims, and unless the community so organizes its resources as to provide work for every willing worker, the unemployed as the reserve of industry are entitled to maintenance.

Beard Defends Jobless Insurance; Unions Block Low-Wage Employers

John Beard, representing the Workers' Union Section of the British Transport and General Workers' Union, was one of the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress to the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Beard joined his colleague, Frank Wolstencroft, in a defense of British unemployment insurance and made a spirited denial of the charge that it has turned British workers into loafers.

Unemployed Have Right to Live

"We said many years ago," he declared, "that if a man had not got a job that he had just as much right to live as any other human being, and that therefore our system of society had to be made to correspond to the new needs. That view was impressed, not upon a Labor Government, as you have been told, but upon a Liberal Government, and subsequently upon a Conservative Government.

Jobless Are Not Spongers

"There is no workman in England who gets something for nothing, because, first of all, he is a citizen of that country. He belongs to it and he has come to the conclusion that it belongs to him, to all of us, and if the country belongs to all of us, and if we have achieved a citizenship worthy of the name, then it is essential that we should care for each other.

"It is true to say of Great Britain," he went on, "that no man need die of hunger. By right he can claim sustenance, is expected to claim it. Indeed, if he does not claim it, it is an indictable offense, because he must not sleep out or be found without the visible means of subsistence."

Workers Are Not Indolent

"The charge," he said, "that the British workman is down and out, that he is demoralized and in an indolent condition because of unemployment pay is a lie, a bitter, malicious lie."

Beard expressed the conviction that Labor will not be emancipated by the negative policy of criticizing employers, but rather by getting hold of the unorganized workers and saturating them with trade union principles.

Unorganized Menace Labor Standards

"We have to look for our salvation," he said, "by a better way than mere criticism of capitalists. It is ourselves who are at fault. There is no need to trouble about the man who is against us, if all those who should be for us are with us. You will find things probably the same as we do. There are large numbers of men not in a trade union, and you are never certain that they are not going to be against you in the spirit of an employer who is going to fight you. From that point of view, our menace comes from the workers. That has been part of our difficulty in Great Britain. It is our difficulty now."

Unions Bar to Cheap Labor

Despite unemployment, low-wage employers, and many unorganized workers, Beard was optimistic both on the achievements and prospects of British Labor.

"Our employers say to us," he said, "probably the same as your employers say to you sometimes, or as they say to themselves and their customers, that if it were not for, say, Frank Wolstencroft's union, we could have our buildings put up very much cheaper than at present, which means that if we were all non-unionists, the law of supply and demand would operate and enable them to get labor cheaper.

"They have not been able to achieve cheap labor in Great Britain, not even with non-unionists.

Trade Unions Are Labor's Hope

"For I think this may be said, that despite the difficulties through which we have passed, the large number of the trade union agreements and conditions in Great Britain are still intact, they have not been interfered with, excepting that certain reductions have taken place, with the consent of those who were the workers on the workers' side of the agreement. But trade unionism itself remains largely intact, which is something upon which we may congratulate ourselves."

"And so we, every one of us who have worked in the labor movement," he concluded, "should know in the words of Robert Louis Stevenson, that 'It is better to travel hopefully than to arrive.' Though, like his traveler, we shall only see in the beyond the peaks of Eldorado and the beauties thereof, though we do see the things that we seek for, yet we nurture the hope that the trade union movement of Great Britain and your trade union movement of America are going to be a great factor in making the world a better place to live in."

BROOKS INDORSES LABOR'S RIGHT TO WORK PROGRAM

The fraternal greetings of the American Legion were presented to the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor by Frank N. Brooks, vice commander, representing Henry L. Stevens, national commander, who was unable to be present.

He referred to the fraternal relations that had existed between the American Federation of Labor and the Legion since the latter's establishment, and declared that the custom of sending representatives to each other's convention has been of material aid in perpetuating friendly relations between the two organizations.

Labor Program Best for Nation

"Your fifty years' record of splendid achievement," he said, "is for many, and should be for anyone, sufficient guarantee that the program which you will adopt here will not only be calculated to serve the highest interests of your own membership, but will, likewise, serve at this critical moment the best interests of your country. We must remember always that the radicalism of today is the conservatism of tomorrow.

Right to Work Approved

"I am certain that the wonder of future generations will be that there could be anyone in America opposed to your program, which calls for a job, at a living wage, for every man willing and able to work, protection and a living for dependent widows and mothers, and a fair chance for education and happiness for every child in America. Any government worthy of the name surely must sooner or later guarantee such opportunities for all."

BRITISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

Joseph P. Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, and Joseph V. Moreschi, president of the Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, were the fraternal delegates of the American Federation of Labor to the 1931 British Trades Union Congress at Bristol, England.

Their report to the A. F. of L. convention said that the British Congress was composed of 587 delegates, representing 3,719,401 workers comprising 18 trade groups consisting of 210 unions.

General Council's Functions

"Between each annual convention," the report stated, "the entire business of the Congress is entrusted to a General Council of 32 members representing each of the 18 trades groups according to their respective numerical strength, and a general secretary. The president is appointed by the General Council for each Congress.

Unemployment

"But while their methods and procedure may differ from ours, their aims and ills are quite similar to ours. Their chief concern at present is employment, the maintenance of the present wage, the establishment of a work week of forty hours and the protection of the worker from exploitation.

Labor's Break with Macdonald

In discussing the attitude of the Congress toward the break of the British trade union movement with Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald over the proposal to include a reduction of 10 per cent in unemployment benefits and a slash of 15 per cent in the salaries of civil employes in measures to balance the budget, the report said:

"The Congress while conscious that something must be done to meet the deficit in the national budget felt that the plan to reduce unemployment benefits and the reduction of the wages of civil employes was a scheme conceived and advanced by the invested interests to effect a general reduction in wages.

High Wages and Prosperity

"The Congress championed the doctrine that high wages are essential to national prosperity, and condemned the attempt to drive the worker to offer his labor for low wages through inadequate unemployment benefits.

"Its position was that the deficit should be made up through the taxation of invested capital or by a general devaluation of the 'pound sterling' so that the sacrifice would be general and borne equally and not fall directly upon the shoulders of the worker."

The report concluded with the recommendation that the practice of sending fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress be continued in the interest of cooperation and understanding between the labor movements of the two countries.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST EXTENDING USEFULNESS

The 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor praised the character and scope of the American Federationist, the official journal of the Federation.

"It keeps itself strictly abreast of the times in its discussions of immediate problems," the convention declared, "and has taken the lead of other publications by its sound economics and in emphasizing the prevention of unemployment, security of jobs and stability of employment."

The convention also spoke highly of the Junior Union Magazine, a supplement for children inaugurated during the past year.

"The number of trade union readers of the American Federationist has steadily risen during the past year," the Executive Council of the Federation said in its report to the convention.

"Inquiries from this country and abroad for special articles in the magazine have notably increased. Additions have been made to the number of universities and governments of foreign countries which regularly receive it. An increasing number of business men, industrial undertakings and research groups are turning to this magazine as an authoritative source for indispensable information. Collegiate courses in economics and study groups of trade unionists are using the American Federationist as a text book.

"It is our plan to make the magaine increasingly useful during the coming year through the discussion of current problems of wage earners—problems of the home as well as the job.

"During the past year we have added a supplement for children. We believe it is important that children should grow up with understanding and respect for trade unionism. The principles of unionism learned in childhood will bear fruit later in union membership."

CONGRESS REFUSED LAWS AGAINST LOAN SHARKS

The last session of the United States Congress couldn't find time to enact measures to protect needy people in the District of Columbia from 100 to 500 per cent interest on loans charged by loan sharks, declared the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in its report on legislation concerning credit unions and small loans to the 1931 convention of the Federation.

"Bills to permit the establishment of credit unions and to protect small loan borrowers were introduced in the Senate and House," the reported stated. "The credit union bill provided that any seven or more persons in the District of Columbia could incorporate and do business. This would permit groups of people working together in any government department to organize a credit union for the purpose of loaning money to its members.

"As this would not protect three-quarters of the people in the District, who would not be in a position to form credit unions, the small loan bills were introduced in their interest. Officers of the Washington Central Labor Union complained that 'loan sharks' were charging from 100 per cent to 500 per cent for small loans. The small loan bills were reported favorably to both Houses and were lost in the congestion. The American Federation of Labor supported both the credit unions and the small loan bills in an effort to drive the 'loan sharks' out of business."

The convention commended the Council for its efforts to protect small borrowers from usury, but suggested "that the closest scrutiny be given the so-called small loans bills to make certain they cannot be permitted to legalize 'loan shark' methods, or any system of salary buying."

Green Replies to British Delegates; Same Program, Different Methods

In his reply to the speeches of the fraternal delegates to the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor, William Green, president of the Federation, emphasized the difference between the political system and the industrial and social conditions of the United States and those of Great Britain and Canada. Different conditions, he said, resulted in the use of different methods to obtain results beneficial to labor. But the different methods, he added, do not impeach the integrity of the labor movement in any of the three countries.

Praises British Unions

"I do not think there is any member of the American Federation of Labor," President Green declared, "who has ever felt that the officers and members of the British Trades Union Congress have been swerved from their fixed purpose at any time by ulterior motives to advance and promote the best interests of their membership.

"I can say more than that, for we believe they have always acted constructively and sanely and that they have made a distinct contribution to the advancement of the welfare of all the peoples throughout the world.

"Speaking for myself, standing here before you, I declare positively that if I were in England and a member of the British trade union movement, I would be standing with Brother Wolstencroft, Brother Beard, Brother Swales and the others who have stood here and outlined their policies.

British Labor Policy Best for British Workers

"We believe the policy they have pursued is the policy that is best suited to advance the interests of the British working men.

"We are proud of their accomplishments, we are proud of their achievements, we have looked upon their work with feelings of exultation, because we appreciate their devotion and loyalty to the principles of the trade union movement.

Different Institutions and Methods

Turning to the difference in the institutions of the United States and Great Britain, President Green said:

"Our forms of government are different. Our social conditions, to a very large extent, are different. Our methods must be different, even though we seek to achieve the same purpose.

Forty-eight State Governments

Here are two great democracies. We have in America no distinct nationality as you have in Great Britain. The Dominion of Canada is more nearly like the mother country, but take into consideration the fact that we have not only one sovereignty in the United States, but we have forty-eight different governments, every one of them separate, functioning in a cooperative way.

"Then we have our Federal Government, limited by our Constitution, possessing no rights not delegated to it by the sovereign States.

"In our country when we desire to secure the enactment of a social justice measure we are compelled to go, not to one parliament, supreme, with full control, possessing one individual sovereignty, but to forty-eight different sovereignties in order to make a social justice law universal in the United States."

Social Justice Program

"Our program of social justice," he went on, "is no different than the program formulated by our brothers across the sea, but our methods must be different. We must proceed along a different line, otherwise we fail before we have begun."

Unions Must be Guarded

He said that in considering social justice legislation the trade unions in the United States were necessarily, as a matter of self-preservation, compelled to study its possible effect on trade union movement, which is so essential to the welfare of the American workers that its life must not be jeopardized.

Supreme Court Controls

"Last of all," he concluded, "there is no Supreme Court in Great Britain, clothed with the power to nullify the will of Parliament; there is no shadow of that kind hovering over the great economic movement of Great Britain. After we have fought in the forty-eight States and in the Conress of the United States, and won our cause, there is still a power outside our hands that can say whether that law shall operate, whether it is constitutional or unconstitutional.

"In Great Britain the will of Parliament is supreme. It represents the supreme law. It reflects the supreme expression of the democracy of that land. We here are handicapped, if I may put it that way, by reason of the fact that, after all, the Congress of the United States and the legislatures of the States do not have the last say as to whether the law shall operate for the benefit of all the people."

Labor Conditions at Hoover Dam

The action of the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor in authorizing President Green and the Executive Council of the Federation to make a thorough investigation of wages and working conditions at Hoover Dam is an important step toward securing equitable treatment of labor on that gigantic construction project.

The resolution protesting against the labor conditions, introduced by H. C. Clark, delegate of the Central Labor Union of Las Vegas, Nevada, declared that Six Companies, the concern which has the contract for the construction of Hoover Dam, pays wages far below trade union scales and described the working conditions as intolerable. "It is almost impossible," the resolution said, "for men to work in the outrageous heat at Hoover Dam, especially for a mere pittance, barely enough to feed and clothe them without any consideration of a living standard."

The resolution adopted by the convention provided that all authentic information in the possession of affiliated organizations "relative to wages and working conditions at Hoover Dam" be submitted to President Green, and that he be authorized to appoint a special committee "to inquire into the contracts involved and the relationship governing as well as into living and working conditions at Hoover Dam."

The resolution authorized the Executive Council of the Federation "to endeavor to bring about a conference between representatives of the contractors, the American Federation of Labor and the affiliated unions having jurisdiction over the sort of work performed at Hoover Dam, with a view of developing a joint agreement in relation to wages and working conditions to apply at the Dam site."

In addition, the resolution authorized the Executive Council to endeavor to obtain a Government inquiry into labor conditions at the Dam and to take any other action which in the judgment of the Council may be "necessary, proper and wise for the purpose of securing for the workers at Hoover Dam the improvement in wages and working and living conditions which they so sorely need."

CONGRESSMEN KILLED SEAMEN'S MEASURE

The antilabor Congressmen who resorted to sleight-of-hand parliamentary tactics to block legislation in the last Congress designed to prevent the smuggling of immigrants as seamen into the United States, received the unanimous condemnation of the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The convention declared that the throttling of the Seamen's Bill in the House of Representatives "brings forcibly to attention the need for a revision of the parliamentary rules of the House to prevent the recurrence of this sorry spectacle whereby the wishes of the majority are frustrated by the legislative manipulations of a reactionary minority group."

The convention urged the Executive Council of the Federation to have this legislation pressed to success in the next Congress.

"The practice has been for some shipowners to bring into the country from 25 to 100 extra seamen," the Executive Council said in its report to the convention explaining the need for the Seamen's Bill. "Many of them are Chinamen. Under the Seamen's Act a seaman can leave ship as soon as it reaches safe harbor. The surplus seamen immediately land and are absorbed in the population.

"The bill provided that every vessel must take out of the country as many seamen as it brings in. The bill has passed the Senate several times, but always met opposition in the House. Organizations of shipowners with the assistance of members of Congress have been the influences which prevented the passage of the bill in the House.

"Undoubtedly, 90 per cent of the members of the House would have voted for the bill. The administration was in favor of the legislation. Nevertheless, by ulterior means the bill was not permitted to come to a vote. Members of the House, who are alleged friends of Labor, circulated among the Representatives and urged them to object to suspending the rules to consider the bill. Several of those approached exposed this conspiracy, one representative making the charge openly on the floor of the House."

Canadian Labor Asks Higher Wages And Shorter Hours, McDonald Says

Colin McDonald, a member of the Vancouver local of the Journeyman Tailors' Union of America, was the fraternal delegate of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

"The most outstanding question dealt with at our Congress was unemployment," he said in his address to the convention. "The discussion on this question took more time than any other that came before the Congress.

Cut Hours, Raise Wages

"A greater reduction in working hours to such standards as will enable every worker of our country to have an opportunity of earnings a living for himself and those depending upon him, and a much higher wage to increase the purchasing power of the masses were favored as relief measures in the present depression.

Unfair Wages on Public Works

"The Federal and Provincial Governments are attempting to meet the unemployment situation by the undertaking of public works, the greater part of which is in the form of road construction.

"While organized labor is in accord with the projects undertaken we are not in accord with the rate of pay being given on these jobs. While we have government regulations causing fair wages and conditions of employment on all government work, these regulations are not being enforced in the work in question. This, in my opinion, may be due to that invisible and apparently invincible government which dictates policies to the different countries at present and evidently are determined to reduce the standard of living of the workers, thus attempting to destroy what took years to build."

Unemployment Insurance

Among the questions acted on favorably by the Congress, he included unemployment insurance on a contributory basis; reduction of interest on war debts; a moratorium against rents and taxes of unemployed to be instituted by the Dominion Government, and reduction of the hours of labor. The Congress opposed wage cuts.

Labor Laws Secured by Unions

In outlining the legislative achievements of the Trades and Labor Congress, McDonald said:

"It is safe to say that practically every piece of social and labor legislation on the statute books of either the Federal Government or Provincial Governments have first originated in resolutions of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

"Outstanding among these might be mentioned the establishment of Labor Departments by Federal and Provincial Governments; the Provincial Workmen's Compensation Acts; Coal Mines Regulation Act; Mothers' Allowance Legislation; Minimum Wage Acts; Factory Acts; Fair Wage Regulations; Industrial Disputes Act; the Dominion-Provincial Old Age Pension Act; Union Label Regulation Act; Development of National Ownership of Railways and Steamships; Employment Service Council; Establishment of Dominion Health Council, etc.

"In addition immigration has always been closely watched and regulations obtained from time to time helping to check the flooding of the labor market in Canada by unwarranted influx of immigrants."

Cooperation Between Canadian and American Unions

"I feel there never was a time," he concluded, "when it was more urgent for the trade unionists of Canada and the United States individually and through their International Unions, to cooperate whole-heartedly and with a genuine spirit of friendship and understanding to assume their part in strengthening their organization in order that the interests, not only of the organized workers, but of soceity generally may be protected."

LEGION CONVENTION REVIEWED BY BERRY

George L. Berry, president of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North American, represented the American Federation of Labor at the 1931 convention of the American Legion in Detroit. Mr. Berry was requested by President Green to take the place of Peter J. Brady, who was killed in an airplane accident while en route to the Legion convention.

Tribute to Peter Brady

The delegates to the Legion convention, Mr. Perry said in his report, rose and remained standing for one minute in respect of the memory of Peter J. Brady.

Friendly to Labor

"There was no action taken by the American Legion convention," Mr. Berry continued, "which was in contravention to any principle enunciated by the American Federation of Labor."

"By an overwhelming vote," Mr. Berry went on, "the convention called upon the Congress of the United States for the submission of the eighteenth amendment to a referendum vote of the people.

Depression Unites Soldiers and Workers

"Please be certain of the continued friendly relationship between the Legion and organized labor," Mr. Berry concluded. "My judgment is that the circumstances now facing the country due to this perfectly indefensible depression has brought the ex-service men of the nation and the workers even nearer together than has been the condition heretofore."

AFL LIBRARY CONTAINS TEN THOUSAND VOLUMES

The value of the American Federation of Labor Library as a source of information and the progress made in its development into a standard reference library of literature covering the history and work of Labor were emphasized by the Executive Council of the Federation in its report to the 1931 convention.

"In the constantly broadening field of labor literature," the Council said, "the Library of the American Federation of Labor now includes about ten thousand volumes covering practically every labor subject from accidents to workmen's compensation."

"The Library renders informational service to all of our offices and is of great value in our editorial work."

In addition to books on the general subject of Labor in its broad application, the Council points out that the Library includes proceedings of the conventions of the national and international unions and State federations of labor, reports of Federal and State labor bureaus, files of the official journals of the national and international unions and State federations of labor and the labor papers, as well as files of current periodical literature and trade publications containing material on industrial conditions.

"The Library," the Council concludes, "should have a large collection of the reports, special studies, organizing literature, wage agreements, etc., of all trade unions. Such material is important in measuring the work of labor organizations and valuable for research students interested in the development of labor activities. We urge labor organizations to co-operate with us in this direction by sending these documents to the Federation headquarters."

The convention indorsed the development of the Library and urged its larger use by trade unionists in the study of their problems.

ELECTING A LABOR CONGRESS

The 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor declared that Organized Labor should "leave no stone unturned to the end that we will be assured a Congress at the next session that will give heed to the requirements of labor, enact the measures urged by the American Federation of Labor and repeal or prevent the enactment of laws designed to restrict, limit or deny the rights and opportunities of Labor, whether manifested individually or collectively."

Labor Declares Unemployment Insurance Unsuited to U. S. Conditions

ENDANGERS LIBERTIES OF UNIONS IS FINDING

Would Give Employers Practical Veto on Benefit to be Paid Individual, Is Report

The 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor declared that unemployment insurance is not suited to American conditions.

This decision was registered after a discussion occupying nearly one entire day.

The question of unemployment insurance came before the convention from a number of sources.

In its annual report the Executive Council of the Federation gave a comprehensive survey of unemployment insurance in Great Britain and Germany, with special reference to the limitations placed on the liberty of the workers by the conditions imposed for securing unemployment benefits.

As the result of the information gathered from the survey, the Executive Council declared "that compulsory unemployment insurance legislation as is now in effect in Great Britain and Germany would be unsuited to our economic and political requirements here and unsatisfactory to American working men and women."

Insurance Resolutions

Three resolutions in favor of unemployment insurance were presented to the convention. The first was introduced by Florence C. Hanson, delegate of the American Federation of Teachers; the second by William P. Clarke and Harvey H. Harsham, delegates of the Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America; and the third by James A. Duncan, delegate of the Seattle, Washington, Central Labor Union.

The Council's unemployment insurance report and the three resolutions were referred to the Committee on Resolutions, of which Matthew Woll, delegate of the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America and third vice president of the American Federation of Labor, was chairman.

Committee Opposes Jobless Insurance

The Committee on Resolutions presented a report in opposition to unemployment insurance.

The report was read to the convention by Victor Olander, delegate of the International Seamen's Union of America and secretary of the committee.

British Insurance

The Committee's report quoted passages from the report of the Executive Council tending to show that the regulations governing unemployment insurance in Great Britain deprive the insured worker of many of his fundamental rights.

Employers Control

The Committee report pointed out that under the British law "there must be some expression from the employer regarding each individual worker making application for unemployment benefit. The worker, while employed, is reminded constantly that his employer hold what, in effect, amounts to at least a temporary veto power over his right to benefits when unemployed. This seems inseparable from all compulsory unemployment schemes."

Right to Organize Jeopardized

Later in its report the committee said the acceptance of compulsory unemployment insurance in the United States, in the light of industrial conditions that actually prevail, "would in a large measure amount to a virtual surrender on the part of the workers, in the battles they are now waging in many industries for recognition of the right to organize. In return for a slice of bread—a mess of pottage, as it were—the workers are being asked by the promoters of compulsory unemployment insurance in the United States to yield up their birthright, to practically surrender in their struggle for liberty, by enactment of legislation deliberately calculated to give the employers increased power of control over the workers."

Unsuited to the United States

The Committee's report concluded with the following declaration

"Your Committee expresses its emphatic approval of the declaration of the Executive Council 'that compulsory unemployment insurance legislation such as is now in effect in Great Britain and Germany would be unsuited to our economic and political requirements here and unsatisfactory to American working men and women.'

"Unemployment Reserves" Condemned

"Proposed legislation for so-called 'unemployment reserves' is equally fallacious and belongs in the same category with proposals for unemployment insurance legislation.

Duncan Favors Insurance

James Duncan, delegate of the Seattle Central Labor Council, opened the discussion with a speech in favor of unemployment insurance.

He said the report was an indictment of a number of the national and international unions and State federations of labor which had approved unemployment insurance. He saw but little merit in the argument of the committee based on jobless insurance in foreign countries. In America we can do things in our own way.

Right to Work

He favored unemployment insurance because he believed in the right to work. Seven million persons in the unemployed army are now denied this right.

He referred to the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress as having stated that in Great Britain unemployment insurance had done more than any other agency to maintain the living standards of labor.

Woll Opposes Insurance

Matthew Woll, chairman of the Committee on Resolution", replied to Mr. Duncan.

He said that the British trades union movement does not favor unemployment insurance in the accurate sense of the term, in which the employe, the employer and the Government contribute but demands an out-of-work benefit paid from the exchequer.

British Trade Unions Cited

To substantiate his contention, he quoted from statements by the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress before the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance. He also said that the British trade union movement had been weakened by compulsory insurance.

Aside from the principle involved, Mr. Woll declared that Federal unemployment insurance could not be achieved without amending the Federal Constitution, and that State constitutions would also have to be changed before compulsory State insurance could be set up.

Union Declarations Criticized

In regard to the trade union organizations that had declared in favor of jobless insurance, Mr. Woll expressed the belief that they had not given the matter the "thoughtful study and consideration required before taking our nation into an adventure of this kind."

Employers Control Jobs

Mr. Woll held that "industry is responsible for work opportunity," and that unemployment insurance would remove this responsibility from industry and put it upon the Government. He believed this would be inadvisable.

Hoffman Favors Insurance

Delegate Hoffman of the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen said that there is no real liberty for Labor in the United States. The injunction has destroyed it. There might be danger in unemployment insurance, but the unemployed should be relieved at once.

Furuseth Opposes Insurance

Andrew Furuseth, delegate of the International Seamen's Union of North America, said he did not believe "there is any real remedy" for unemployment in unemployment insurance. He placed but little importance in verbal declarations about the right to work when the laws in no State or municipality either validate the right or make it a legal obligation of the employer to provide it.

Blames Overcapitalization

He believed our industrial troubles are largely tied up with overcapitalization. He said that from 1924 to 1929 more than forty billion dollars of securities were issued "with no possible basis upon which to give them value."

Labor Injunctions Destroy Freedom

He emphasized injunctions in labor disputes as the great instrument used against the workers. He believed the place to begin Labor's fight was by trimming the scope of injunctions so that the workers would be "free to meet, free to associate, free to help each other, free to sustain each other."

Howard Sees Blow at Free Labor

Charles P. Howard, delegate of the International Typographical Union, opposed unemployment insurance.

He said that in the machinery set up to administer the system it "strikes at free labor and free democratic government."

Fears Political Machine

He felt that under our political system it would result in a dangerously powerful political machine. He claimed the administration of unemployment insurance funds would be under the control of political agencies.

Compulsory Work in Non-Union Shops

Employers' organizations are very strong in the United States, and he was convinced that under unemployment insurance the benefits would be used to compel union workers to take work in non-union shops or surrender their insurance.

Mrs. Hanson Favors Insurance

Florence C. Hanson, delegate of the American Federation of Teachers, favored unemployment insurance.

She saw no strength in any argument against insurance based on unemployment insurance laws in foreign countries. The founders of the American Federation of Labor did not copy European trade union methods, and we need not copy foreign insurance methods.

No Danger to Freedom

There was no danger to freedom in unemployment insurance. On the contrary, she believed it would "increase the freedom of the worker and his self-respect and be of great strength to trade unionists."

Hunter Favors Insurance

Andrew Hunter, delegate of the Central Labor Council of Cle-Elum-Roslyn, Wash., favored unemployment insurance.

He gave statistics on the number of miners out of work, and deprecated the increasing use of injunctions in labor disputes.

Tax the Rich

He believed that instead of the increased profits of modern machinery going to employers it should be used to provide unemployment insurance. "The Government should tax industry," he said, "take away the excess profits of it and turn them over to the unemployed in that industry."

Allen Favors Insurance

Olie Allen, delegate of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, favored unemployment insurance.

He saw nothing of value in discussing European unemployment insurance. It is our own problem and we should work it out in our own way. It was all right to talk about organizing the workers, but that would not feed and clothe the jobless. Out-of-work insurance might not be a perfect remedy, but it was something.

Surrender of Rights

Suppose it did require the surrender of certain rights. When unions establish limitation on the hours of work the "individual member surrenders his right to work different hours."

Tobin Sees 10,000,000 Jobless

Daniel J. Tobin, delegate of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, predicted an army of 10,000,000 unemployed. Unemployment was being increased all the time by labor-displacing machinery and would be a permanent institution.

He said every "labor-hating institution in America, from General Motors down to the smallest corporation," opposes unemployment insurance.

Demands Government Relief

He believed that something "should be done in the way of governmental unemployment financial relief" as soon as Congress convened. If the organized labor movement did not make such demand on Congress it would show that it was not what he believed it to be "still fighting, still militant, still considering the rights of the masses of the people in whom we place our trust."

Frey Opposes Insurance

John P. Frey, delegate of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, opposed unemployment insurance.

He emphasized the financial difficulties of providing the benefits imposed by the system.

Financial Difficulties

On the basis of 7,000,000 unemployed and each one of them representing two others, there would be 21,000,000 unemployed and their dependents. Fixing $5 a person as the minimum living requirements would mean $15 a week for each of the 7,000,000 jobless.

$5,460,000,000 Benefits a Year

That amounted to $105,000,000 a week in unemployment benefits, or $5,460,000,000 a year. In 1928, the total volume of wages in the manufacturing industries was $11,000,000,000. These figures meant, he said, that it would require one-half of the wages in the manufacturing industry to pay the insurance benefits.

Sixteen Per Cent of Wages

Moreover, in 1928, the total volume of wages paid in the United States was $32,000,000,000. This meant that it would have required 16 per cent of all wages paid to meet the benefits under unemployment insurance. These figures showed him, he concluded, "that unemployment insurance of this kind would be wholly incompetent to deal with the national emergency."

Mahon Favors Insurance

W. D. Mahon, delegate of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America, favored unemployment insurance.

His experience in the trade union movement, he said, had convinced him that company old-age pensions and jobless insurance plans are unable to meet the situation confronting the workers.

Government Insurance Essential

He believed the only way to deal with unemployment was "through the adoption of Government insurance that will take care of every industry and every man, woman and child in the country."

Cost Argument Invalid

He was surprised, he said, to hear the cost of unemployment insurance advanced as an argument against it. Supposing unemployment insurance benefits did cost five billions of dollars. "We didn't think anything of nineteen billions when we sent it over to the European countries and loaned it to them in order that they might cut each other's throats in the late war."

Olander Opposes Insurance

Victor A. Olander, delegate of the International Seamen's Union of America, opposed unemployment insurance.

Sympathy for the jobless was all right, and so was food, but trade unionists had to ask themselves what the price would be.

Increases Employer Control Over Workers

He cited the report of the resolutions committee as declaring that compulsory unemployment insurance "interferes seriously with the liberty of the workers" and increases the control of the employer over both the masses of the workers and each individual worker. He read quotations from a number of authorities tending to prove this claim.

The workers must be registered, he said. When the unemployed worker seeks a job, his last employer is asked why the employment terminated.

Workers' Liberty Destroyed

He believed that unemployment insurance would be destructive of the liberty of the workers and would result in injury to the trade union movement. The unemployed should be given relief and an abundance of it, but the liberty of Labor should not be surrendered.

"I submit," he concluded, "that we are not in the position in the United States to call upon our people to surrender to any such proposal as that contained in the compulsory unemployment insurance scheme."

Green Opposes Insurance

William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, closed the debate with a speech in opposition to unemployment insurance.

The text of President Green's speech appears on this page.

At the conclusion of the debate the convention adopted the report of the Committee on Resolutions "that compulsory unemployment insurance legislation such as is now in effect in Great Britain and Germany would be unsuited to our economic and political requirements here and unsatisfactory to American working men and women," and that "proposed legislation for so-called 'unemployment reserves' is equally fallacious and belongs in the same category with proposals for unemployment insurance legislation."

Unemployment Insurance

BY WILLIAM GREEN

President, American Federation of Labor

Following is the text of the speech on unemployment insurance made by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, before the 1931 convention of the Federation:

The subject matter comes before the convention because the Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor directed the Executive Council to make an exhaustive investigation and study of unemployment insurance and to report the results of that investigation to this convention.

The Executive Council endeavored to carry out those instructions.

It was impossible to investigate the subject without making a study of the experiences of our fellow workers across the sea, who had really pioneered in this social justice experimentation.

We examined carefully, so far as it was within our power to do, the experience of our fellow workers in Great Britain, in Germany, and in other sections.

It is for that reason you find in the report the result of these investigations made in a sympathetic and impartial way.

The Committee on Resolutions, to which this report was referred, evidently gave very thoughtful consideration to all the facts and all the information, all the circumstances surrounding the subject, and has brought to this convention its report.

In a previous section of the report of the Committee on Resolutions you will find recommendations regarding the policy that we believed should be pursued in securing relief for the unemployed. That part of the committee's report has been adopted by the convention.

Relief Necessary

Now it is very easy for us to confuse the two propositions, one of securing relief for the unemployed and those dependent upon them, and the other proposing that the American Federation of Labor approve some definite, concrete plan of unemployment insurance.

I am moved very deeply by the distressing situation which prevails throughout the nation, so much so that I can scarcely speak upon it in a conservative way.

I am willing to go anywhere or any place, using the power that I possess, representing the American Federation of Labor, to secure adequate relief for the unemployed and those dependent upon them.

Appeal to Congress

I am willing to go to the Congress of the United States and demand, if you please, in the name of the millions of workers of the American Federation of Labor, that the wealth of the United States be appropriated in this great emergency to relieve distress and feed the hungry.

There is no one who is touched more deeply by this situation, and so far as it lies within my power I propose to go, in the name of the Executive Council and with the Executive Council, to the Congress of the United States as soon as it convenes and there tell them, in the name of Labor, that an emergency exists in the United States comparable with the emergency that existed during the war, and that we are knocking at the doors of Congress now, in the name of those millions, and that we shall appeal and demand that Congress, without further delay, appropriate a sufficient amount of money, let it be millions or billions, in order to feed the hungry and care for them.

But, my friends, there is a difference between that procedure and the commission of this movement to a permanent, definite plan which involves very fundamental principles, principles upon which our great union rests.

Judgment Required, Not Emotion

In dealing with these matters there are two forces which pull heavily upon us. The one force pulls at our heads and the other at our hearts, and we find ourselves alternating between the exercise of our judgment and our feeling.

You men who have gone through this experience of conflicting emotions know whether it is most safe to follow feeling or to follow judgment, and now is the time when, in my opinion, the best judgment of this great organization, represented here by this delegation, should and must be exercised.

American Unions on British Pattern

Some one said we did not pattern our movement after that of any other nation across the sea.

I think perhaps that was a mere statement that had not been studied or thought out.

The facts are that we have patterned our movement after the movement of the mother country.

In Great Britain they experimented with trade unions long years ago. First it was the guilds struggling for recognition. Then came the trade union movement, organized upon an economic basis.

The movement there is older than ours. It was formed years ago. It has pointed the way.

Conditions Different in U. S.

It has taught us how to develop our economic strength, and we have endeavored in the new world, in these new nations of this new continent, to apply the lessons we have learned from the experience of our fellow workers in the mother country.

But, of course, like many others, we become young men in a hurry.

We want to do here in 50 years what our fellow workers across the sea have completed in more than a century, or perhaps two centuries.

We fail to take into account the difference in conditions—as I stated in previous remarks, the difference in governmental structure, the difference in nationality, the difference in race, the difference in the relationship of one's government to the other on the structural form we have set up here.

Strength of British Labor

Remember that unemployment insurance in Great Britain followed the establishment of the trade union movement, and bear in mind that the trade union movement in that great country exercised a tremendous influence, not only in the economic but in the social and political life of that great nation.

The structure had been set up, figuratively speaking, the machinery for the administration of this social justice scheme had been set up by the trade unions.

Trade unionism had been accepted in Great Britain as a fact, and the Trade Union Act gave it a legal standing, protecting it against the oppressive judicial procedure that we have been subjected to here.

They were in position to protect their interests. There was scarcely a manufacturing plant and no mines, so far as I understand, that were not unionized long before the Unemployment Insurance Act had been passed.

Must Protect Our Unions

Now here we are, the guardians of our movement. The Ark of the Covenant is here.

You come into this hall as the defenders and the protectors of trade unionism in the United States and in the Dominion of Canada.

There is imposed upon us the obligation to protect it, to defend it, and surely when we consider a fundamental principle such as is now being considered by this convention, involving the very life and existence of our movement, our duty is plain, and that is, first of all, to protect the movement that we love and represent.

And that is the thing I am afraid of. That is the thing that bothers me.

Permanent Jobless Relief

I am of the opinion that ultimately we shall arrive at the place where some form of permanent relief protection must be demanded by our movement.

I believe we are traveling rapidly toward that point, but I fear that the time has not yet arrived.

We can't have unemployment insurance without agreeing to a set-up that will, to a large degree, govern and control our activities.

You can't have it all one way. If you are to agree to submit yourselves to this proposal and the operation of this plan, then you must be willing to give up some of the things you now possess.

And what can we give up and yet maintain our movement?

You can't have an unemployment insurance plan without employment exchanges.

Insurance Jeopardizes Unions

You can't have an unemployment insurance plan without registration.

You must report, you must subject yourself in every way to the control of the law. And then, my friends, when the representatives of these employment exchanges are able to find you employment, when you are entitled to receive insurance benefits, you must accept the employment they find for you or give up your claim to unemployment insurance.

I believe that in some cities where our organization is struggling for existence the operation of that plan would destroy the union there, because if they find a union man a job in a non-union plant he must choose as to whether or not he will accept the job in the non-union plant or give up his unemployment insurance.

That to me seems an unfair position to place a union man in in the United States of America.

Non-Union Work for Union Jobless

My good friend, James Duncan, is working hard in Seattle to organize the automobile mechanics, and he is doing splendid work.

What might happen among these men in the event of unemployment insurance, with employment exchanges finding work for men wherever they could in Seattle?

If some of his union men were thrown out of work, placed on the unemployment insurance benefit plan, registered and reporting, and some of them calling for their pay were told, "We have a job, for you over here in this garage that Jim Duncan has ben trying to organize," and they would say, "We don't want to go there because it is non-union," the employment exchange could say, "You go or lose your insurance."

How then could he succeed in the organization of the automobile mechanics?

Insurance Benefits British Workers

Now I think that our men in Great Britain, as Brother Mahon has said, have done the right thing.

Great Britain is a small island, the towns are closely located in reference to each other.

There is one language, one people, one nationality, one tongue, and trade unionism is the dominant force in the political life of that great nation; the shops and factories largely organized.

Why wouldn't it work there? Of course it works, and it works successfully, and I commend the British workers for the splendid work they have done.

If a man there calls for his insurance benefits and the exchange tells him they found a job for him, the probabilities are that they found it for him in a union establishment where he can work.

That is because the country is more thoroughly organized than we are here.

But they can require him to take the work, because my good friend, Brother Wolstencroft, in the splendid address he delivered the other day, brought that point out forcibly.

Compulsory Work for Jobless

I think it is worth while quoting just now. Dealing with the question of compulsory acceptance of employment, the compulsory submission of men to accept the work found for them by those who administer the unemployment benefits, Brother Wolstencroft said:

> **Do the delegates here assume for one moment that my organization would allow 153,000 pounds of our funds to be paid out if there was work for our members to obtain!**
>
> **And our members are only entitled to receive unemployment benefits when they are prepared to look for and obtain employment, and that applies to every person who deposits his card with the Employment Exchange.**
>
> **There is no payment for the first six working days.**
>
> **Those who want the benefits must attend at the Employment Exchange and sign the book three days a week.**
>
> **The officials of the Employment Exchange can offer employment to any person who is signing the unemployment book and it need not be in the particular trade or occupation in which the person is engaged.**
>
> **For instance, if a member of my organization is signing for state unemployment benefits and there are no vacancies in the building industry, the Employment Exchange officials can say to the members of my organization, "Here is suitable employment, in our opinion, during these times, which you should take."**

I take it for granted that means if a carpenter is out of work and the employment exchange finds him employment in some other line or trade and they think it is suitable, he must take it or give up his unemployment insurance.

Quoting further:

> **And if the member of my organization says, ""No, I am not prepared to take that employment," then immediately his benefit is stopped and not another penny is paid until he has attended before a Court of Referees, composed of one workman, one employer, and an independent chairman appointed by the government.**

Keepers of the destiny of this American Federation of Labor, running the risks of this continued fight made upon us, existing only because of the courage of our movement, do we want to place our members in that position where they may be compelled to decide as to whether or not they will accept employment in a notorious non-union plant in America or give up their unemployment insurance benefits?

Labor Laws Valueless Without Unions

I fear for this alone, because our workmen's compensation laws in America mean nothing without our union.

Our social justice laws mean nothing without the force of our economic power and strength.

The laws on the statute books are not made vital and operative without our union standing up, requiring, compelling the enforcement of those laws, and if we weaken this, if we destroy it, if we exchange our union for this plan, then we are to blame if our union is almost destroyed.

How can you build under such circumstances?

Strengthen Trade Union First

Let us build our union first, let us extend it, let us strengthen it, and then think about coming forward along more progressive social justice lines.

I am one of those who still feels that after all the salvation of the masses of the people in America depends very largely upon the development of our economic strength.

I believe our salvation lies there.

We can stop wage cuts if we are organized. We can establish the five-day week if our union is strong. We can do many more things if we can organize the unorganized.

That is our aim and our ambition.

How can we do that if we strike a blow at ourselves and weaken ourselves, endanger our very security and our life and our standing?

Mass Protests Against Wage Cuts

I read a few days ago a report of what had developed in Great Britain following the almost amazing thing that happened in the Parliament of that great country.

You will recall that in balancing the budget it was decided that the wages of government employes would be reduced, the wages of the civil service employes, the school teachers, the men of the army and navy—all were to be reduced 10 per cent.

Well, we read about the civil service employes marching in protest against this reduction in wages and a spirit of opposition was shown, but, behold you, the startling announcement was made that the sailors on His Majesty's fleet had not marched, but had actually struck against a reduction in wages, and that the fleet was sent to the home waters because the navy had struck.

There was a manifestation of the economic strength of these men, and while we do not wish to place upon that our approval, nevertheless, it was a significant development and the next announcement was that the grievances of the sailors were being considered and adjusted.

Destruction of Unions Feared

Let us not weaken our economic strength, our economic power, but let us develop it, let us make ourselves strong before we engage in experimentation and inject into our movement, through the adoption of an unsafe policy not suited here, that which will pull at our vitals and destroy our trade union structure.

Jobless Insurance Abroad

There are but two ways to solve the problem of unemployment.

The jobless must either be provided with work or an income without work.

This was the conclusion on the unemployment problem in the United States reached by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, after an exhaustive examination of unemployment insurance in Great Britain and Germany, in its report on unemployment insurance to the annual convention of the Federation.

In discussing the effects and causes of unemployment, the Council said:

> **Unemployment is the great fear that constantly shadows the life of the wage earner. Unemployment means loss of income. Working people must earn money in order to live and buy the things they need. They depend upon their wage earning power and wage earning opportunities to procure for themselves a decent living. They spurn charity and abhor dependency.**
>
> **Invention, science and mechanical improvement have revolutionized factory production, but while doing this they served to displace many workers during normal periods of industrial activity. Technical progress has been very exacting. Even during the peak production period there were many thousands of working people suffering from technological unemployment. Now, with many millions of workers idle, it becomes imperative that we deal directly and constructively with this great social problem.**
>
> **There are just two approaches to this problem: prevention and relief. Either we must make employment secure or provide an income for the unemployed.**

The Council referred to various limited efforts made by management to relieve unemployment by regularizing production, but asserted that "because unemployment cannot be eliminated at once, there must be provisions for relief for the unemployed."

The Council's conclusions regarding unemployment insurance in Great Britain and Germany and the inappropriateness of adopting it in the United States follow:

> **Payments to the unemployed are intended to serve as temporary need. The only source from which sustained income may be expected is through production. The only real remedy for unemployment is employment. The effect of insurance plans upon this ultimate objective is of greatest importance. Unemployment is a problem of management which can be solved by thought and organization. Both the German and the English experience indicate that employers who can turn employes upon the dole do not develop a feeling of responsibility for those on their pay rolls.**
>
> **The practices and policies that result in unemployment tend to become rigid when relieved of the necessity for finding a preventive. Unemployment insurance has encouraged industry to keep a work force larger than their needs and has encouraged workers to hang to a declining industry or to an obsolete trade. Thus, unemployment insurance may be the crutch that permanently weakens industry and keeps it from solving a problem whose solution is essential.**
>
> **In Germany and Great Britain the percentage of wage earners organized in trade unions is much higher than in the United States and there is no aggressive organization of employers seeking to destroy or nullify union organization. Wage earners need not fear that the regimentation of a national service would be used to break down their union organization. This is in striking contrast to the situation in the United States.**
>
> **Unemployment insurance has not made charity or relief unnecessary. Insurance rests upon the principle of limited liability and pooling of risks. The limited payments contracted for have not been enough for the emergency. England has extended benefits and provided transitional benefits—financed by subsidies from the National Exchequer. Germany has borrowed from the Reich, provided Krisenfursorge and maintained local poor funds. Whenever the government provides limited aid for any considerable group of citizens, the tendency is for the practice to become fixed and to expand regularly.**

Work for Idle or Jobless Insurance

Unless the owners and managers of industry provide work for the jobless, unemployment insurance will be inevitable.

This opinion was expressed by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in its annual report to the 1931 convention.

"While it is the opinion of the Executive Council," the report said, "that compulsory unemployment insurance legislation such as is now in effect in Great Britain and Germany would be unsuited to our economic and political requirements here and unsatisfactory to American working men and women, we recognize the fact that the owners and managers of industry through their failure to provide work for the working people of the nation who are able and willing to work have contributed much toward the creation of an increasing public opinion in favor of the enactment of unemployment insurance legislation.

"It is the opinion of the Executive Council that the owners and managers of industry will be largely responsible for the enactment of unemployment insurance legislation in the event public opinion becomes so crystallized as to demand unemployment relief through the enactment of compulsory unemployment insurance laws.

"The Executive Council is directing its efforts toward the creation and enlargement of work opportunities. It believes that the owners and management of industry can plan and adjust the working time and their work policies so that all working men and women may be accorded an equitable share of all work available.

"Through the application of the five-day work week and the shorter work day the slack of unemployment could be overcome. As a result work security would become an assured fact.

"The six million or more working men and women in the United States who are unemployed could be absorbed into industry, secure in their opportunity to earn a living, if the shorter work-week and the shorter work-day had both been put into effect by the owners and managers of industry when this period of unemployment came upon us.

"During all the extended period of unemployment which has so seriously affected the social and economic well being of the people of the United States, the owners and managers of industry have failed to offer either a plan or a remedy for the evil of unemployment.

"No collective action of any kind has been taken and no response has been made to the appeals of Labor to accord to the working people of the nation an equal opportunity to share in the work available by the employers or management of industry.

"The ruthless discharge of millions of working men and women without means of support, dependent upon such relief as may be extended by municipalities and by local relief agencies, is in itself an indictment of our unsound economic and industrial situation, unsound and uneconomic because the owners and managers of industry have miserably failed.

"American working people want work. They demand work.

"They abhor charity, and they resent the imposition of the dole. They are proud in spirit and resolute in purpose. They must not and they will not become the victims of a paternalistic policy.

"Work must be supplied to all who are willing and able to work. Managers and owners of industry must meet this social obligation and discharge this responsibility.

"Working men have arrived at the point where they are firmly of the belief that they are as much entitled to work security, to enjoy the opportunity to work, as the owners of capital are to returns from their investments. Labor demands that these principles be recognized and accepted by the employers of Labor.

"Obviously, the owners and management of industry must decide as to whether working men and women shall enjoy the opportunity to work or whether as a result of the denial of this opportunity to work, industry shall have fastened upon it compulsory unemployment insurance legislation.

"It must be work or unemployment insurance.

"Working people must be privileged to earn a living or be accorded relief.

"If compulsory unemployment insurance is fastened upon our industrial, political and economic life it will be because industrial ownership and management have failed to provide and preserve work opportunities for working men and women."

SHORTER WORK WEEK.—Confronted with a potential productive capacity that discounts all demand and by a great and growing army of the unemployed, it is plain that the logical situation now drives irresistably to a prompt reduction of the work week.

The A. F. of L. Weekly News Service gives a brief summary of important matters affecting labor, occurring in the industrial, legislative and judicial fields, and such other information that will benefit the trade union movement.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
WEEKLY NEWS SERVICE

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Much danger makes hearts more resolute.—Marsten.

WHOLE NO. 1076. | WILLIAM GREEN, President | WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1931 | FRANK MORRISON, Secretary | VOL. 21, NO. 37.

ORGANIZED LABOR'S FIRST FIFTY YEARS

"The American Federation of Labor is primarily a constructive social organization founded on social idealism and on a broad vision of a better social order," declared the 1931 convention of the Federation, in commending the report on the fifty years of service of the organization made to the convention by the Executive Council.

"The Federation," the convention continued, "looking back over fifty years, views with pride the social progress that has been made through its efforts and through its cooperation with other groups of organized citizenry."

A review of the Council's survey confirms the convention's declaration.

Social and Economic Progress

For half a century, from its almost infinitesimal beginning in a conference of five men in Terre Haute, Indiana, in 1881, the American Federation of Labor has stood, like a lighthouse builded on a rock, for everything that has made for the social and economic progress of the American working men and women, whether or not they were affiliated with unions, whether they earned their livings in dungarees or white collars, in office gowns or household aprons.

Particularly, since 1886, the American Federation of Labor has been in the forefront of all movements for the betterment of conditions among the common people, men, women, and especially children, irrespective of how or where the movements originated—and a generous share of such movements have originated within the Federation itself.

Pay Rates and Union Strength

In its survey of these fifty years of service, the Executive Council strikingly shows how in the Federation's own field of organization workers' gains and trade union strength are correlated. Wages have increased and hours have been shortened in direct ratio to trade union membership gains.

The organization was a major instrument in establishing the public school system, conventions of the Federation have endorsed and helped to secure better school laws, wider use of school plants, reduction in class sizes, increased pay for teachers and safety of tenure, text books on social subjects, citizenship training, and a host of other benefits undreamed of fifty years ago, but now a commonplace in the modern educational system.

Contributions in Industry

The Federation, in prosecuting its primal objective, the immediate welfare of the workers, has by its demands for better working standards, higher wage rates and shorter hours contributed notably to industrial improvement. Among such achievements are:

Intelligent cost accounting.

Improved machinery and technical processes.

Application of sound business principles to wage earning as a business.

Collective negotiation and cooperation.

The principles of the work contract.

Principles of time economics—the adjustment of work-day and work-week standards as conditions change, with scientific evaluation of the use of leisure.

Principles of personnel relations on the basis of union-management cooperation.

Policy of regularity of employment for individuals and its essential concomitant of regularity of production.

Social and Political Reform

In politics the American Federation of Labor, working always to put the principles of democracy into actual practice, has helped to establish:

The Australian ballot system.

Woman suffrage.

Initiative, referendum and recall.

Popular election of senators.

Primary elections.

Agencies working for international understanding and world peace.

Labor Legislation

Legislation regulating attachment for debts and assignments of wages, and exempting tools of trade or profession and the homestead from executions.

Wage lien laws in all the States and workmen's compensation laws in several.

Sanitary legislation for industrial and commercial plants.

Protective laws for women in industry and commerce.

Mothers' pension and child labor laws in many States.

Among a host of other social achievements the Federation has been instrumental in bringing about are bureaus for gathering labor statistics, laws against the importation of contract labor, and the general strengthening of immigration laws to bar incoming aliens whose assimilation, if possible, could only endanger American standards.

Standing firmly on its first fifty years of economic, social and political achievement, the American Federation of Labor approaches our present problems with a constructive conservatism, a conciliatory attitude, and an able leadership, all animated with the spirit of social idealism.

Labor faces the future backed by courage and buttressed by faith.

Organized Labor's Parliament

The American Federation of Labor is governed by its annual convention.

The convention declares the policy of the Federation.

It speaks with authority.

No other body, no official, has the power to repeal its decisions or nullify its actions.

It is Organized Labor's Parliament and Supreme Court combined in one body.

Its actions are indeed the Voice of Labor, challenging injustice and presenting the collective demands of the workers for rights and equities that should be theirs without demand.

The 1931 convention was confronted with the stupendous problem, relatively recent in the United States, of millions of able-bodied adults deprived of the right to earn a living and millions more working part time, a menacing condition created by wage cuts both actual and predicted, the continuance of injunctions throttling Labor's organized activities, and many other crucial questions of greatest interest to working men and women.

The convention's actions were positive and progressive on all the questions before it.

It demanded that the right to work be secured for every citizen and made inalienable.

It declared its opposition to unemployment insurance of the British-German types as containing policies jeopardizing the elemental rights of Organized Labor and consequently of all Labor.

It adopted an emergency unemployment program which would very quickly relieve the present unemployment crisis if those who own and manage industry had the statesmanship to apply it.

It demanded adequate support of the unemployed regardless of whether the cost is millions or billions of dollars.

It declared for a progressively shorter work day as the major remedy for unemployment caused by the wholesale introduction of labor-displacing machinery.

It insisted that wage rates be maintained during the depression.

It promulgated a comprehensive and practical long-range policy for national economic planning to prevent unemployment in the future.

It indorsed an anti-injunction bill which it is believed will strike from the wrists of Labor the manacles riveted there by the tyranny of injunction judges.

It approved a model old age security measure which, when enacted, will provide a comfortable living for dependent people over sixty.

It declared in favor of progressively increasing income and inheritance taxes as a measure for collecting additional taxes from those who secure the greatest benefits from our industrial and political systems.

It opposed the sales tax because it would place heavier taxation on those who get the least out of our industrial and political systems and are least able to bear taxation.

It instituted a campaign to protect the child workers of the nation by the prompt ratification of the child labor amendment to the Federal Constitution.

The convention also took concrete positions on many other matters of great interest to those whose brain and brawn constitute the sinews of our industrial system.

The definitely progressive Labor Policy set up by the 1931 convention positively demands that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, instead of remaining mere shadows that elude the grasp, shall become the inalienable rights of the working masses inseparable from social and economic justice.

The principles laid down by the convention must be written into the laws and practice of our country for the protection of American institutions.

Labor's Old Age Security Measure Revolutionizes Pensions for Aged

The American Federation of Labor's Old Age Security bill, endorsed by the 1931 convention of the Federation, revolutionizes the present method of protecting the impoverished aged.

The following States have enacted old age pension laws: California, Colorado, Delaware, Idaho, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Utah, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

With the exception of one State, old age pensions are paid by counties. In some States it is mandatory, while in other States the decision to pay old age pensions is left to the counties. Neither have proved satisfactory.

The bill of the American Federation of Labor avoids the word "pensions," a term that has caused much opposition to old age pension bills. The A. F. of L. bill proposes old age securities instead of pensions. The securities will be paid by the State. The old age security board will be composed of three elected State officials (to be designated by the legislature), who will serve without additional compensation during their terms of office.

The security may be granted to an applicant who is 60 years of age or upwards who has lived continuously in the State for not less than ten years. A decision on an application must be made within thirty days. The security will be $9 a week, to be paid monthly.

The object was to prepare a bill that would be less costly than those laws now in existence. Members of the board will serve without compensation and the cost of administration will be confined to the employes in the office of the board and in the field.

The measure is a model bill to be presented by Organized Labor to the legislatures of the various States.

Parliamentary Tactics and Labor Legislation

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will exercise its influence to have the Congress which meets in December give prompt and special consideration to the bill to prevent the smuggling of immigrants into the United States as seamen.

A minority group of anti-labor members of the House of Representatives defeated the bill in the last session of Congress by sleight-of-hand parliamentary tactics which are not creditable to the lawmaking body of a representative democracy.

For a number of years shipowners have followed the practice of bringing into the United States from 25 to 100 extra seamen.

Under the present Seaman's Act a seaman can leave ship as soon as it reaches safe harbor. The surplus seamen immediately land and are absorbed in the population.

The Seamen's Bill provides that every vessel must take out as many seamen as it brings in.

Although the bill has passed the Senate several times, anti-labor members of the House of Representatives have always opposed it.

Organizations of shipowners have been the influence which dictated the opposition to the measure in the House.

At the last session of Congress the shipowners and their legislative representatives in the House took advantage of the near approach of adjournment to resort to dilatory tactics to prevent a vote on the bill.

According to information in the possession of the Executive Council, 90 per cent of the members of the House were in favor of the bill. The administration was also in favor of it. But the defeatists prevented action.

It is even claimed that members of the House who were alleged friends of Labor circulated among the Representatives and urged them to object to suspending the rules to consider the bill.

As a result of these tactics, the House of Representatives adjourned on March 4 without having reached the Seamen's Bill.

It was these tactics that prompted the recent annual convention of the American Federation of Labor to demand a revision of the parliamentary rules governing the House in order "to prevent the recurrence of this sorry spectacle whereby the wishes of the majority are frustrated by the legislative manipulations of a reactionary minority group."

It is the belief of the Executive Council that the new Congress which convenes in December has enough red-blooded members with Labor sympathies to schedule the Seamen's Bill for prompt enactment.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Mr. Peter Manniche, representing the International People's College, of Elsimore, Denmark, recently told about the new educational methods applied by that institution.

"The International People's College," Mr. Manniche said, "was the first international college established with a view of creating human relationships between students from different countries." It began in a very small way ten years ago, but now has 1,300 students for its winter courses and 1,200 for its vacation courses.

Personal Student-Teacher Contacts

"The college," Mr. Manniche explained, follows the traditions of the famous Danish folk high schools. These traditions are personal in method in so far as they emphasize the personal relationships between the students and the teacher, and the teacher with the student. The teachers get together with the students and eat with them, and are on equal terms. They adapt themselves to the individual needs of the students.

No Examinations or Degrees

"They have no examinations, no degrees, they try to meet the students where they stand and answer the questions of the students. The college is ethical in its purpose, educating, not only for a national, but for an international cooperative commonwealth.

Student League of Nations

"The student body forms in itself a little league of nations and in their fellowship each nation has a possibility of contributing characteristics of national value."

PREVAILING WAGE RATE LAW WATCHED BY LABOR

The operation of the prevailing rate of wage law, enacted by the last Congress, is under the close scrutiny of officials of the American Federation of Labor to determine its effectiveness to meet the evils which it was designed to correct.

The law requires contractors and subcontractors on public buildings in the United States and the District of Columbia to pay adequate wages.

Under its provisions every contract in excess of $5,000 in amount, to which the United States or the District of Columbia is a party, is required to contain a provision that the rate of wages for all laborers and mechanics employed by the contractor or any subcontractor shall be not less than the prevailing rate of wages for work of a similar nature in the city, town, village, or other civil division of the State in which the public buildings are to be located, or in the District of Columbia, if they are located there.

Adjustment of Disputes

It also provides that in case any dispute arises as to the prevailing rates of wages for work of a similar nature which cannot be adjusted by the contracting officers, the matter shall be referred to the Secretary of Labor for determination and his decisions thereon shall be conclusive on all parties to the contract.

The Act became effective April 2, 1931.

Low-Wage Bidders "Irresponsible"

Officials of the American Federation of Labor take the position that in case a contractor fails to pay the prevailing rate as determined by the Department of Labor, payment on the contract should be suspended until he complies with the law. They also maintain that any contractor who refuses to pay the prevailing wage rates should be considered as an irresponsible bidder.

This position was also taken by representatives of the Government charged with the responsibility of carrying out contracts in their testimony before committees of Congress when the bill was under consideration.

AMERICAN WOOLEN MILLS TO ELIMINATE RADICALS

Lawrence, Mass., Nov. 21.—The American Woolen Company is reported to be applying a "selective employment" system as a result of the recent prolonged strike against wage cuts.

In this way it is expected that all the "radicals" will be refused employment.

Every employe who was taken back into the mills following the collapse of the strike was given a pass or identification card and the department in which he was employed.

CAMPAIGN TO OUTLAW YELLOW DOG CONTRACT

Washington, Nov. 21.—Information received at headquarters of the American Federation of Labor in Washington indicate that Organized Labor is preparing a forceful drive to extend the enactment of legislation declaring the vicious "yellow dog" contract null and void.

The States of Wisconsin, Arizona, Colorado, Ohio and Oregon have already passed such laws, which in effect outlaw the provisions of labor contracts, whether written or oral, expressed or implied, under which workers, as a condition of employment, are compelled to surrender their right to organize.

In Indiana the Governor vetoed the "yellow dog" bill, and the Massachusetts legislature declined to enact it on the basic of an advisory opinion by the State Supreme Court which declared it unconstitutional.

The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is quite optimistic over the prospects for additional State legislatures enacting during their coming sessions laws declaring these "yellow dog" contracts null and void.

The discussions on the floor of the United States Senate when Judge John J. Parker's appointment to be a member of the Supreme Court was up for confirmation necessarily informed many members of State legislatures of the viciousness of these contracts.

Following the defeat of Judge Parker in the Senate, pamphlets containing the debates were sent to all trade union officials in order that they might be adequately equipped to appear before legislative committees in the interest of this legislation. The pamphlets were also widely distributed throughout the United States as a method of creating a well-informed public opinion.

Labor's anti-injunction bill, which will be presented to Congress when it convenes in December, prohibits "yellow dog" contracts. It is believed in Labor circles that public sentiment is sufficiently strong against this form of contract to render unsuccessful any attempt to strike the provision from the bill.

In this connection it is interesting to note that ten of the United States Senators who voted to confirm Judge Parker's appointment will not be members of the Senate this session.

32 WORKERS KILLED

Charleston, W. Va., Nov. 21.—Thirty-two industrial workers were killed at their work in West Virginia during October, according to the report of State Compensation Commissioner Lee Ott. Non-fatal accidents numbered 3,584.

Labor's Anti-Injunction Bill Ends Judge-Made Involuntary Servitude of the Workers; Outlaws "Yellow Dog" Contract; Legalizes Union Membership, Strikes, Boycotts, and Benefit Payments

Officials of the American Federation of Labor will present Labor's anti-injunction bill to the United States Congress as soon as it convenes in December and urge the necessity of the prompt enactment of the measure into law.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor recommended the bill in its report to the Federation's 1931 convention. The convention, in turn, approved it.

The bill is, therefore, Organized Labor's well-considered remedy for a despotism that for many years has stood as an insurmountable barrier to the onward march of the workers toward their emancipation from the various forms of tyranny mobilized by those who own and control our industrial system.

Labor leaders believe the measure will definitely end the judicial dictatorship exercised by Federal judges in issuing injunctions in labor disputes prohibiting the workers from organizing in trade unions and from carrying on, without molestation from the courts, the work for which the unions are organized.

Corrects Injunction Abuse

The bill is intended to be a practical and effective medium to correct the abuse of the injunction, which has become notoriously oppressive to Labor. The convention regarded injunction relief legislation as one of the most important parts of its legislative program.

Labor's Bill of Rights

In this proposed legislation, Labor does not ask for a privileged status. Labor undertakes to secure for itself the exercise of the right of free speech, free press, free assemblage, the right to organize, the right to engage in collective bargaining, and to prevent the equity courts from giving status and legal standing to "yellow dog" contracts.

Involuntary Servitude

The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States declares:

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

In most labor injunctions Federal judges set up some form of involuntary servitude for the workers.

Ends Injunction Slavery

The bill endorsed by the convention proposes to end all forms of injunction slavery by writing into the Federal statutes a declaration of public policy which declares that "every human being has under the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States an inalienable right to the disposal of his labor free from interference, restraint or coercion by or in behalf of employers of labor, including the right to associate with other human beings for the protection and advancement of their common interests as workers, and in such association to negotiate through representatives of their own choosing concerning the terms of employment and conditions of labor, and to take concerted action for their own protection in labor disputes." The bill declares that any "undertaking or promise" in conflict with this declaration shall be contrary to the public policy of the United States, and shall not be enforceable or subject to relief from the courts.

"Yellow Dog" Contracts Illegal

The bill then takes up the contracts which employers requi workers to sign pledging themselves not to join trade unions and declares such contracts to be contrary to the public policy of the United States and not enforceable.

With this groundwork outlawing activities against the right of labor to organize and the imposition of yellow dog contracts as against public policy, the bill considers the rights which injunction judges have barred workers from exercising and gives them the status of legality.

Injunctions Declared Illegal

The bill declares it to be illegal for Federal judges to issue injunctions in labor disputes prohibiting workers individually or collectively from striking or threatening to strike, whether the strikers have a grievance against their own employers or strike sympathetically to bring pressure in favor of some other union engaged in a dispute, and prohibits Federal judges from issuing injunctions barring workers from membership in trade unions.

Legalizes Strike Activities

The bill also declares it to be illegal for Federal judges to issue injunctions in labor disputes prohibiting workers individually or collectively from paying or withholding strike or unemployment benefits, from giving publicity to labor disputes, from aiding by all lawful means any person interested in a labor dispute who is being prosecuted in Federal or State courts, from assembling peaceably to act or organize to act in the interest of a labor dispute, and in general from urging others, without threat, fraud, or violence to do these things.

"Unlawful Conspiracy" Injunctions

The Federation's bill further provides that no Federal court may grant an injunction "on the ground that any persons in a labor dispute are engaged in unlawful conspiracy."

Protects Trade Union Officials

It relieves the officers and members of labor organizations of responsibility for the unlawful acts of individual officers and members or agents, except upon clear proof of actual participation and knowledge.

"Irreparable Damage" Injunctions

According to the Federation's bill, the only circumstances under which a judge could issue an injunction in a labor dispute are the commission of unlawful acts which will continue and cause substantial and irreparable damage to the property of the complainant who has no other remedy but the injunction.

Contempt of Court

In contempt of court proceedings for alleged violation of a labor injunction the Federation bill gives the parties to an industrial dispute the right to demand the withdrawal of a Federal judge if the cause is an attack on his character or conduct, and not made in open court. Upon filing the demand the judge would go no further in the contempt case.

Jury Trials Granted

After a labor injunction is granted, violation of it and charges for contempt of court shall be tried by a jury instead of by the judge, except contempt in the presence of the court or interfering with its operations.

Most Important Labor Measure

"Our immediate and foremost task," the convention declared in its approval of the anti-injunction bill, "is to secure remedial legislation from the coming session of our national Congress. Every effort should and must be directed to that end and all other legislative proposals ought to be subordinated to this great task.

Unions Mobilized

"We earnestly urge all national and international unions, State federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions to respond whole-heartedly to every call which may be issued by the Executive Council on this subject."

6,200,000 JOBLESS A. F. OF L. ESTIMATES

Failure to Adjust Hours to Actual Work Time Needed Causes Unemployment

DEMANDS SIX-HOUR DAY

Wage Loss of $11,000,000,000 Since 1929 Reduced Retail Sales 16 Per Cent

Washington, Nov. 21.—About 6,200,000 workers are without jobs in the United States, according to the estimates of the American Federation of Labor published in its monthly survey of business. The survey declared that the major problem confronting business is the adjustment of working hours so as to provide employment for the jobless.

"Although unemployment has been increased by business depression," the Federation survey said, "the major problem left by the past decade has been to adjust work hours to the actual work time needed in our industries."

"Improved methods have reduced the time necessary to do the nation's work, but work hours were not reduced correspondingly," it added, and went on:

Workers Increase Output

"In our factories the average work week in 1919 was fifty-two hours. In 1929, with modern machinery and methods, the average workman needed only thirty-four hours to do the task which had taken him fifty-two hours ten years before. Even with the 42 per cent increase in manufacturing production, this saving of work time meant an actual reduction of 30,000,000 man-hours' work per week.

Small Reduction in Hours

"Yet average work hours in our factories were reduced only from fifty-two to fifty. Similarly, in other lines of work—mines, railroads, agriculture—work time has been drastically reduced, but no corresponding adjustment of work hours has been made."

Unemployment Increases

Because working hours have not been adjusted as work time was shortened, the Federation stated, unemployment increased by about 1,000,000 persons from 1920 to 1929. It continued:

Six-Hour Day, Five-Day Week

"Clearly, business must face this fundamental adjustment. If there is only thirty-five hours' work a week for all wage-earners in the United States, the only sound economic policy is to adjust work hours accordingly. This involves universal adoption of either the six-hour day or the five-day week.

Labor's Income Cut $11,000,000,000

"Wage-earners' yearly income is now $11,000,000,000, according to Government figures, below the 1929 level. This does not include losses of salaried workers. The total income of factory workers is now 37 per cent below 1929, of railroad workers 25 per cent below, and the income of all wage earners, we estimate, has declined 32 per cent below 1929.

Small Decrease in Living Cost

"Cost of living has declined only 12 per cent; workers' actual purchasing power, therefore, is 23 per cent below 1929. Allowing for the change in price, the wage earners' loss is $9,700,000,000 in 1929 dollars.

Wage Loss Hurts Business

"This loss is a major factor in business development. No other single item in the record of business losses has had anything like the economic effect of this $11,000,000,000 decline in wage payments.

Bank Failures and Deposits

"Bank failures have caused panic, but actual deposits in all banks which failed in the year ending September 30, 1931, was less than one-seventh the amount lost by wage earners ($1,500,000,000); all business failures reported to Dun's Review in the same period involved only one-fifteenth the amount ($750,000,000). If the United States were to lose its entire foreign trade the loss would be less than half as great as the wage decline ($5,150,000,000) in 1929.

Wage Losses Cut Retail Trade

"Most significant of all is the loss in retail trade due to diminished incomes of workers. Allowing for rent and for price changes, the loss to retail trade from wage declines this year has been at least $8,000,000,000 in 1929 dollars. Since the nation's total retail sales in 1929 were $50,000,000,000, the wage loss has reduced retail trade by 16 per cent."

Business Sentiment Improves

Declaring that "A month ago business was on the verge of panic," the Federation said that sentiment had been greatly improved. It credited this change to President Hoover's bank credit pool, his proposal for liquidating "frozen real estate investment," price upturns, the visit of Premier Laval to the United States and the plan for freight rate increases.

Railway Workers Suffer

The survey protested against cuts for railway employes advocated by railway executives and especially the wage slash of $600,000,000 urged by investment bankers to redeem railway securities.

"Workers' incomes have already fallen almost as much as the net operating income of the roads," the survey said. "During 1929, 1930 and the first eight months of 1931, railroad income declined by $61,000,000 a month, workers' total income by $59,999,000 monthly. Clearly workers have already taken their share of the loss."

BONUS SYSTEM REDUCES WAGES

By EDW. W. KAISER,
General President of the Stove Mounters' International Union of North America.

In some industries many schemes are resorted to for the purpose of securing increased production at a reduced cost. Among the number is the bonus system, with an efficiency man employed to make the workers believe they are being rewarded for increased production when, in fact, the rate is reduced as the production is increased.

A piece rate of, say, one cent, is established for a certain piece of work, until one hundred pieces are produced; then after one hundred pieces are produced all other production is on the so-called bonus basis, with the worker receiving 50 per cent less than the price that was established for the first one hundred pieces.

This scheme results in increased production per day being secured and brings down the cost per piece. With the increased production only three days per week operation of the plant is necessary, which is another reduction in the earnings of the worker. How this affects the purchasing power of the worker can be readily seen.